UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL

A CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF JAMAICAN GANG DEVELOPMENT

PAR

SHURNA HENRY
ÉCOLE DE CRIMINOLOGIE
FACULTÉ DES ARTS ET DES SCIENCES

MÉMOIRE PRÉSÉNTÉ À LA FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
EN VUE DE L'OBTENTION DU GRADE DE
MAÎTRISE ÈS SCIENCES (M.SC) EN CRIMINOLOGIE

Janvier, 2000.

UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL
FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES

CE MÉMOIRE INTITULÉ

A CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF JAMAICAN GANG DEVELOPMENT

PRÉSENTÉ PAR

SHURNA HENRY

A ÉTÉ ÉVALUÉ PAR UN JURY COMPOSÉ DES PERSONNES SUIVANTES:

Maurice Cusson, président-rapporteur

Pierre Tremblay, directeur de recherche

Lucia Benaquisto, membre du jury

MÉMOIRE ACCEPTÉ LE: 1er septembre 2000

ABSTRACT

The object of this study was to provide in-depth descriptions of four Jamaican Gangs notorious within the Jamaican community of Montreal for their crime involvement, activities and affiliations, as well as their raison d'être.

Gangs have been studied extensively and one may wonder if there exist any good reasons for further investigating such an extensively covered phenomenon. The answer is a unequivocal yes. First, what do we know about Jamaican gangs from gang research that has been undertaken? Not much; reviewing that which is known about Jamaican gang members in Montreal, it must be noted that much of the information derives from police officials, social workers, journalists and generalistic accounts of Jamaican history. To date no scholarly research has been produced to explain the symbolic significance of Jamaican gang involvement. This study tackles and answers previously unavailable information.

Twenty six individuals were interviewed for this study; the first level of which consisted of twelve gang members, three members each from the Walkley Crew, Uptown Crew, Grand Massive and Bronx Massive. The second level of interviewees consisted of fourteen nongang members. The selection of nongang respondents was based on two criteria; first, the respondents had to belong to the Jamaican community of Montreal, and second, the respondents had to have no prior membership with any gang.

We found Jamaican Montreal gangs to be loosely organized, based on cultural and social tradition, and highly supceptible to the lure of the underground economy to counter biases inherent in Canada's educational and employment system. Some variations emerged in the four gangs studied, however, significant similarities were more often noted than significant differences. These similarities were most frequently evident in the symbolic significance of Jamaican Montreal gangs' analysis and point to an inexorable link between culture and crime.

RÉSUMÉ

L'objectif du mémoire est de proposer une description détaillée de quatre "gangs" réputés au sein de la communauté jamaïcaine montréalaise pour leurs activités délinquantes: la "Walkley Crew", la "Uptown Crew", le "Grand Massive" et le "Bronx Massive". On s'est beaucoup aux bandes de délinquants juvéniles et on peut se demander s'il est pertinent d'approfondir un sujet aussi bien traité dans la littérature criminologique. On doit cependant faire remarquer que les "gangs" analysés dans cette étude ne sont pas typiquement "juvéniles" : la majorité des délinquants affiliés interviewés avaient choisi de s'y affilier alors qu'ils étaient au début de leur vingtaine. Deuxièmement, les recherches consacrées aux réseaux affiliés de co-délinquants sont principalement américaines et rien ne garantit que leurs conclusions soient généralisables à d'autres environnements urbains, notamment celui de Montréal. Par ailleurs, elles sont peu nombreuses à différencier la délinquance de la communauté noire américaine en fonction de leur référence ethnique ou culturelle propre. Dans cette étude nous intéressons exclusivement aux réseaux affiliés de délinquants jamaïcains et n'examinons pas les réseaux affiliés de délinquants haïtiens.

La délinquance des "crews" jamaïcains montréalais est fort pas mal connue même si plusieurs opérations policières d'envergure ont ciblé les quartiers résidentiels de la communauté jamaïcaine (La Penna, 1990). Il existe certes un matériel anecdotique abondant mais toujours médiatisé par les préoccupations immédiates des policiers, des travailleurs sociaux, des journalistes et les intérêts politiques particuliers des autorités municipales et des groupes de pression des milieux communautaires. Notre objectif dans ce mémoire est de rendre compte de l'importance symbolique que peut représenter ses groupes pour ceux qui y sont affiliés, pour leur entourage et leur intégration dans leur communauté d'appartenance.

Cet objectif nous a amené à réaliser deux séries d'entretiens (d'environ une heure) et plusieurs observations de terrain. La première série d'entretiens a été réalisée auprès de douze membres des "crew" ciblée par le mémoire. La deuxième série d'entretiens a été réalisée auprès de jamaïcains bien intégrés dans leur communauté.

Les résultats de cette étude sont présentées en trois chapitres. Le premier chapitre s'attarde sur le déroulement d'un "Christening Party" parce qu'il permet de reconstituer l'univers culturel de la communauté jamaïcaine et le statut particulier des "baby mother". Nous décrivons également l'importance symbolique que représentent les "dance halls" pour la communauté jamaïcaine - un forum de prestige social convoité par les membres des "crews". Le deuxième chapitre contextualise l'émergence des "gangs" jamaïcains en fonction de leur quartier d'appartenance (Notre-Dame-des-Grâces, Côte-des-Neiges, Cartierville) et des choix résidentiels limités qui se présentaient aux segments les plus pauvres de la communauté jamaïcaine. Le troisième chapitre présente la manière dont les membres de ces "crew" évaluèrent après coup leurs années d'affiliation, les gains qu'ils en ont retiré et le degré d'organisation de chacune d'entre elles. Le quatrième chapitre examine les dissensions internes et les rivalités qui ont caractérisé les "crew" jamaïcaines et qui sont responsables en partie de leur dissolution. Ce mémoire souhaite également contribuer à l'histoire récente de l'immigration montréalaise: les extraits des entretiens qui y sont cités sont présentés tels quels mais le lecteur trouvera en annexe un glossaire des expressions d'argot d'usage courant au sein de la communauté jamaïcaine.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis director, Pierre Tremblay, for his wise guidance through every stage of this project. His availability for discussion and reflection when I was experiencing the directional doldrums proved very valuable to me.

I would like to offer my deepest appreciation to Marian, and acknowledge the strong role that she played in the completion of this study. Thank you for giving me the moral support and encouragement I needed when times seemed so bleak. I could always count on you.

To my dear Ignatius, you are truly one of a kind. Thank you for being there all the time and having confidence in me. Your support will never be forgotten. I love you forever.

To Ashley, thanks for being so tolerant; I know it has not been easy for you. You are a real trooper.

Ayel, you have been a good friend to me and I will never forget that. Thanks for our endless discussions on my project.

Finally, Pema, your proof reading of the final draft proved valuable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Gaining access to delve deeply in the surreptitious aspects of Jamaican gang life, as well as the peripheral components so necessary for this study, required extensive and delicate manoeuvring on the part of the researcher. Acquiring economic as well as criminally related information proved not only to be a methodological issue to be summarily addressed, but a tactical necessity if this study were to be successful.

Trusted entry and probing involvement in social and culturally related events were not a given for the researcher. Many months were spent gaining a degree of trust in order to be included in celebrations that would not be white-washed for the visitor in the Jamaican midst. Consequently, many possibilities were excluded as likely synthetic: a few "hopefuls" were painstakingly selected and will be found in several areas of the study. These proved crucial to provide a backdrop for the subsequent chapters. Clearly, non-acceptance would have precluded the ultimately revealing completion of this report. The goal of this thesis will be to elucidate for the reader how the target community is ordered, albeit not in the traditional sense as we know it.

Any review of gang development, especially Montreal Jamaican gangs' criminal involvement in drug sales and the social embeddeness of crack cocaine in the community, would be incomplete without a thorough investigation by the researcher into the social demographics and municipal upheaval of the Jamaican community, over time.

While many Jamaicans arrived in Montreal and successfully rose through the social ranks, the theme of Chapter IV will focus only on those who, for a variety of reasons, failed to escape the vicious circle of poverty and disenfranchisement.

Appropriately then this chapter will focus on the geographic and resulting social organization of the main Montreal districts that housed either those who could not afford to escape, but wished to do so and those so disenchanted with municipal Montreal politics that they employed them and usurped their virtual imprisonment. We will see that many Montreal Jamaicans rebelled by establishing an underground social and economic system apart from the mainstream because, essentially, they perceived little other choice.

This review will avoid judgement and will attempt to accurately portray the life in the three main "ghettos" with the goal of delineating for the reader, the very few available options residents of these districts were afforded. The goal will be to reveal little-known elements of a cloistered community, isolated by their involvement in illegal activities and circumstances. Chapter V and VI, will illuminate the resilience of the socially and economically deprived members of these communities. Their response to the dilemmas and their survival, as well as their demise, beginning with their desire to establish an underground economy that would provide the economic basis for them to thrive socially.

Along with this economic solution for Jamaican Montrealers who comprise the gang element. The symbolic significance of gang membership emerges naturally as a critical component of affiliation and differentiation from "other" gangs.

CHAPTER ONE

GANGS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

CHAPTER ONE
GANGS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1. Gangs

Gangs are not a new phenomenon; they have been a factor in American society for nearly two centuries (Spergel, 1989). Theorists in the early 1950's, such as Cohen (1955), Miller (1958), and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) focused on the theoretical explanation for delinquency, which in turn, led to interest in subsequent gang related research. Throughout the 70s, however, there is a dearth of such research; it is widely accepted that the relative interest in gangs had ceased to be prevalent among researchers (Bookin-Weiner and Howoritz, 1983). As a result, the subject would wait until the 80s, when renewed academic interest would be once again directed towards gangs, their activities and predilection for violence, especially in the urban setting (Esbensen and Huizinga, 1993).

The gang phenomenon as a social replacement for the family unit, community organizations or church congregation has been extensively researched. It would not be an over-simplification to suggest that where traditional societal structures have lost relevance, non-traditional groupings will replace them. Whenever, wherever substantive numbers of alienated individuals come together in oppression, gangs will surely follow. For many Jamaican-Montrealers who have found themselves or their families marginalized by the greater Montreal community, association with other transplanted Jamaicans is completely understandable. When these associations turn to crime, Jamaicans are compelled to tailor-make their gangs to reflect their preferences and to distance themselves from others: Thus the significance by symbol and unique activities defines and personalizes Jamaican Montreal criminal gangs.

1.1. Gang Affiliation

Research has found some gangs to be invariant, while some have indicated that variations can be found within the gang. Miller (1969) found gangs to be a product of lower-class neighbourhoods. Similarly, Sanchez-Jankowski (1991) maintained that gang members from inner-city communities experienced more defiant individualism than other individuals in lower-class communities.

Klein (1971) distinguished between core and fringe members. Taylor (1990) classified gang members according to their quality of gang membership. He found members to be "corporates", "scavengers", "emulators", "auxiliaries" or "adjuncts". Suttles (1968) found differences in behaviour among Italian, Mexican, African-American and Puerto Rican gangs. In an anthology of gang research, Huff (1990) studied African-Americans, Hispanics, Chinese and Vietnamese gangs and noted that the patterns of gang participation, crime and delinquency and organization are ethnically and racially different.

Economic and social oppression, as factors, are often cited as enticements to adolescents to value gang membership (Hagerdorn, 1994; Moore, 1978; Taylor, 1990; Wilson, 1978). Curry and Spergel (1988) point out that differences of gang crime and delinquency among different communities are a result of racial and ethnic population as well as social and economic factors The gang subculture is a perceived method of reacting or coping through strength in numbers and the shared dissatisfaction of youths adapting to society's hardships, while offering a sense of social interaction and reshaping youths' identities to that of the gang (Vigil and Long 1990).

Literature on gang involvement suggest that gangs are well stratified and undergo

developmental stages unlike any other group (Hagerdorn, 1988; Howoritz, 1983; Moore, 1978; Vigil, 1988). In fact, reasons for gang affiliation ranged from protection and economic opportunity to social status (Anderson and Rodriguez, 1984; Erlanger, 1979). Regardless of the motivation that enticed these youths to affiliate themselves with gangs, variations can be found within the gangs themselves.

While some gangs are particularly organized, that is, developed along similar lines of hierarchy as mainstream groups or clubs, others are more loosely formed. It might be useful to think in terms of vertical versus horizontal models to convey the notion of variety in gangs. Whereas some gangs have a fully-formed executive branch, managerial level and workers base, others find their needs best served in teams, perhaps revolving around a central core for connection, but as satellites they are relatively autonomous.

2. Drug Organization

Researchers have debated the degree to which gang drug organization is vertically or horizontally organized (e.g., Decker and Van Winkle, 1994; Klein and Maxson, 1994; Klein, Maxson and Cunningham, 1991; Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991; Skolnick, 1990; Taylor, 1990). It is probably safe to assume, however, a gang's drug organization reflects that particular gang's overall structure.

We believe there can be no one answer to suit all gangs that come together for the purpose of selling drugs. Whether for expressive purposes such as clothing, parties and women, for economic gains and employability or to finance the gang's activities, the lure of drug sales is clear. For many gang members, drug sales are simply the means to any given end; for others, the reasons may vary widely. Clearly, however, the answer is not one universal reason or explanation, as this

study will show.

Researchers, furthermore, have failed to find consensus. Some, such as Skolnick (1990) who interviewed 39 inmates in state correctional facilities, and 42 police and correctional officers argue that gangs are formally organized for the sole purpose of selling drugs which provides great motivation for membership, but he made a distinction between instrumental and cultural gangs. Instrumental gangs, Skolnick found to be exemplified by African American gangs whose drug sales are more organized and entrepreneurial in nature than others. Cultural gangs, such as Latino gangs are neighbourhood-based groups involved in casual drug sales. These cultural gangs have been found to be notorious for using violence, primarily against rival gangs, to maintain their identity in the neighbourhood .

In a comparative field study of three cities and six different ethnic groups, Sanchez-Jankowski (1991) studied 37 gangs over a ten year period and found that gangs followed an entrepreneurial organizational model with leadership, rules and regulations, codes of conduct, distinctive roles and specific duties. The groups' economic goals are clear in their use of the profits from drug sales for gang purposes. Support for Sanchez-Jankowski's and Skolnick's view is found in Taylor's (1990,1991) interviews with Detroit gangs. Taylor found that Detroit gangs were evolving from scavenger youth gangs to more corporate type enterprises of drug dealing with leaders and effective shared group goals.

Consistent with Taylor and Skolnick, Mieckowski (1986) using the results of a field study of 15 gang members suggest that Young Boys Incorporated (YBI), a Black gang from Detroit was highly structured; their heroin drug sales were formally organized with distinctive roles. The leader would coordinate sales and enforce a code of conduct system which was respected by most members. Further, members were recruited for the sole purposes of selling drugs. The author concludes

that YBI never followed a "freelance" model. Similarly, basing his results on a one year ethnography, Padilla's (1992) Puerto Rican gangs formed an "ethnic" enterprise in one middle-class Chicago neighbourhood.

Views toward gangs being formally organized when controlling drug sales seem to be inconsistent with the findings of Klein, Maxson and Cunningham (1991). These authors argue that gangs lack the organizational structure to control drug sales effectively. Klein et al., using police arrest records from five Los Angeles police stations, examined the relationship between crack cocaine sales involving gang members and nongang members, and concluded that gangs in Los Angeles are increasingly involved in the distribution of crack, but that this is predominantly a drug dealers' phenomenon wherein an increase of participation of gang members was found at the lower levels of distribution.

Fagan (1989) interviewed 151 gang members from Los Angeles, Chicago and San Diego, concluding that gangs, regardless of type, are characterized by "informal social processes" and provide an opportunity to hang out more than to exist as a formal structure to make money. Hagedorn's (1994) Millwaukee gangs lacked formal organization for shared economic group goals. Drug sales were rarely organized since the Millwaukee gangs lacked the organizational skills with which to control members effectively.

Similarly, Fagan (1992) examined two distressed New York neighbourhoods, and found that drug sales were loosely organized since members operated informally. Further, profits from drug sales were used for more expressive reasons such as parties, clothing, money spent on family members and women. Also, Esbensen and Huizinga (1993), using data from a Denver youth survey, a longitudinal study of families and youth characterized gangs as being informal in

nature, lacking the necessary structure to control drug sales effectively. Indeed, the entire notion of formally structured gangs can truly be limited to those with an international profile. While such a review is beyond the scope of this study, suffice to say the local Jamaican gang norm bears little, if any, resemblance to the Chinese Triads, the Cosa Nostra or Hell's Angels.

In the main, it must be noted that while notorious criminal organizations may be the obvious model for any and all, few neighbourhood instrumental gangs enjoy the corporate dimension. In truth, as we will see, gangs become such through a similarity of culture or experience and a lack of alternatives to make money to thrive rather than just to survive. The reality in most municipalities is that drug distribution is gang related, is for profit, is generally a freelance warrior for hire activity, is loosely organized for a plethora of reasons and can be neither easily categorized nor explained. With certainty, however, a few conclusions can be drawn. Drug sales are an integral part of gang activity; profits derived from sale of drugs serve both the individual and the group. Benefits from drug sales are seen by gang members as outweighing the possible detriments; and, while these criteria remain, gangs will proliferate in cities.

As we have seen, gang members bond together for both practical and esoteric reasons, however, even if initially secondary in importance, drug sales are a main motivator. Clearly, this indicates an existing demand that gangs intend to supply. In order to accomplish this effectively, a degree of formal structure, whether sophisticated or not, would be requisite. Furthermore, it remains a given that profits from drug sales have been and are essential to the enterprise. Finally, the enterprise is only as viable as its customer base, making this element of our present study one to explore as well.

3. Conflicts

The predilection for violence is inherent in gang life. Numerous studies report that gang members commit serious offenses and use more violence than non-gang youths (Fagan, 1989; Hagedorn, 1988; Klein and Maxson, 1989; Maxson, Klein and Gordon, 1985; Spergel, 1990; Vigil, 1988). To gain a better understanding of violence, it is fundamental to discern under what circumstances gang violence erupts. Rarely do gangs view themselves as the instigators of violence, rather violence employed by the gang is in response to threats brought to them by rival gangs.

This perception of threat provides valuable insight into the escalation of intergang conflicts. These actions, emerging escalating violence, enable us to view via a group process, the gangs' collective behaviour. The threat, perceived or real, of rival gangs serves as an impetus to gather the gang together, to unite them against their rivals, increasing cohesion among gang members.

3.1. The use of gang violence

To gain a better understanding of gang violence, it is fundamental for us to know when violence is used. The gang members in our study did not view themselves as instigators of violence, rather, they felt that the violence employed by their gang was in response to violence brought on by rival gangs and their members. This perception of violence provides valuable insight into the escalation of intergang conflicts such as drive-by shootings, murders and the settling of accounts. Violence, it is seen, serves as an impetus to gather the gang together, to unite them against their rivals, increasing cohesion among gang members.

Katz (1988) argues that gang members can easily be distinguished from other groups in their ability to create "dread", which is a consequence of their wilful adherence to violence as a logical tool. This apparent "dread" elevates gang members to "street elites", since community members and their peers view them as being violent. Once gang members create "dread", they are viewed as threatening by other gangs, groups and individuals.

In support of this notion, Suttles (1968) found that in many neighbourhoods, individuals form groups in order to protect themselves from other groups. Klein (1971), indicated that intergang conflict creates cohesion among gang members, wherein the level of cohesion is dependent on the extent of threat that rival gangs pose. Similarly, Padilla (1992) maintained that threat increases the bond among gang members and their commitment to each other. Threat persuades members to stay in the gang and increases their willingness to use violence which may not have been used under different circumstances. In fact, threat of a rival gang that is located near another gang's territory motivates community members to join the gang in order to protect the neighbourhood, thus also increasing the level of cohesiveness among members (Vigil, 1988).

Researchers have noted there is a reciprocal causal mechanism with gang violence and that violence can explain how gangs form initially. The perception of threat or violence creates cohesion among gang members and the level of organization. In fact, the fear of others invading one's turf encourages the gang to use violence under circumstances which may not have resulted in violence; studies clearly indicate that fear of retaliation characterizes homicides among gang members. Klein and Maxson (1989:213) reported that the fear of retaliation was 33% more likely to characterize gang homicides rather than 10% among non-gang youths. When gangs feel threatened, they tend to increase their weaponry because they believe that their

rivals are better armed; they do not want to have a shootout with less fire power than their rivals (Howoritz, 1983).

Few studies in gang literature have focused specifically on homicide. In a comparative study of gang and non-gang homicides, Maxson, Gordon, and Klein (1985) maintain that gang and non-gang homicides differ in terms of setting. Gang homicides are more likely to take place in public settings and involve automobiles, guns and no suspects. The authors concluded that, "gang homicides differ both quantitatively and qualitatively from non-gang homicides" (p.220). Support for Maxson et al.'s (1985) view is found in Bailey's (1994) discriminant analysis of gang homicides in California. Bailey found that fear of retaliation increased the likelihood of gang homicides. Curry and Spergel (1988) concluded that poverty and social disorganization are main contributing factors of gang homicide in Chicago's neighbourhoods.

4. Analytical Themes

The elements of surrounding deviant behaviour of four Jamaican gangs notorious for their crime involvement, activities and affiliations provided the analytical themes for this study. In the end, the themes comprised the symbolic significance of the Uptown Crew, Walkley Crew, Grand Massive and Bronx Massive.

Focusing on particular themes was highly important for this study; a checklist served to orient and maintain thematic orientation. Moreover, the flexibility of the interview design permitted unplanned topics to surface during the course of the interviews and respondents had the freedom to discuss other issues pertaining to the queried significance of the gang.

Most themes are thoroughly explored in the analytical phase of this study.

Chapter III explores the cultural significance of gang and crime involvement in the Jamaican community of Montreal; Chapter IV examines the social process of crack distribution; Chapter V analyzes life in the gang; and Chapter VI explores gang violence.

CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH STRATEGIES

1. Making Contact

Field techniques is the primary research method used in this study. This method reflects the approach used by many eminent researchers (Decker, 1996; Decker & Van Winkle, 1994; Fagan, 1989; Hagedorn, 1988, 1991, 1994; Moore, 1978; Padilla, 1992; Vigil, 1988). According to Hagedorn (1991) and Decker and Van Winkle (1994) on that can gain a better interpretive understanding of gangs' symbolic significance by contacting gang members in their neighbourhoods from the primary source.

Since the primary objective of this study is to give a voice to gang members in order to gain an interpretative understanding of the symbolic significance phenomenon, the personal interview was deemed to be most suitable. First, the interview provides detailed information regarding the respondents' experiences, an elusive quality that is impossible to grasp with quantitative methods. Second, the interview process itself enables the researcher to explore the respondents perspective in order to gain a better understanding of their world. Third, the interview technique allows for valuable descriptive insight of the interpretation provided by respondents regarding the gang phenomenon. As Mc Cracken so candidly states:

> The purpose of the qualitative interview is not to discover how many, and what kinds of, people share a certain characteristic. It is to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one culture construes the world. [...] It is the categories and assumptions, not those who hold them, that matter. In other words, qualitative research does not survey the terrain, it mines it. (1988:17)

We prefer to consider the respondents as comprising a subcultural, rather than a cultural category. It is clear these gang members have created a subculture which may hold similar behavioral characteristics to their culture, however, we infer that the gang

members' behaviours may vary according to their structural organization. The personal interview permits the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the variations inherent in gang behaviour from the perspective of the Jamaican gang members as well as in the words and terms they use to describe their phenomenon.

2. Selecting Respondents

Two levels of recruitment were used in this study: the recruitment of respondents who are gang members in the Jamaican community of Montreal, and the recruitment of respondents who are nongang members from the Jamaican community of Montreal.

With regard to the selection of respondents, choices were based largely on accessibility. The majority of the respondents who comprise this study are known to me personally; that is, we derive from the same neighbourhoods. Using "snowball" sampling (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981; Wright et. al, 1992) of gang members, we were able to make initial field contact with three gang members. These gang members were asked to nominate potential respondents who were "just like them." The nominees were then sought out by the researcher. This chain referral method proved to be the ideal choice; it provided ease in finding and recruiting other gang members for our research.[1]

Initially, I knew that making contact with the respondents would not be an easy task since, habitually, our respondents do not reside in the same location for very long. For a period of nine months, the researcher visited the clubs and spots where she knew the target group could be found, and made initial contacts to present the objectives of this study. The initial field contact was then followed up with a meeting with each individual to determine whether or not he was interested in participating in the study.

---

[1]see Dunlap et al., 1990 for further information on the subject of recruitment.

A total of 26 individuals were interviewed for this research and one direct observation was conducted; the first level of study consisted of 12 gang members, three members each of the Walkley Crew, Uptown Crew, Grand Massive and Bronx Massive were interviewed. The selection of gang members was based on two criteria: first, the respondents had to hold the three criteria espoused by Klein (1971), which were later modified by Klein and Maxson (1989: 205):

> [...] (a) are generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by others in their neighbourhood, (b) recognize themselves as a denotable group ... and (c) have been involved in a sufficient number of [illegal] incidents to call forth a consistent negative response from neighbourhood residents and/ or law enforcement agencies.

Second, the respondents had to belong to the Jamaican community of Montreal for this study. We excluded the Haitian community because the evolution of the Haitian gang phenomenon, per se, is quite different from Jamaican gangs. Additionally, gaining access would be difficult given the inaccessibility by the researcher to that community. Furthermore, time and financial constraints of the Masters thesis made it impossible to study both the Jamaican and Haitian community.

The second level of interviewees consisted of 14 community members. Selection of the respondents was based on two criteria: first, the respondents had to belong to the Jamaican community of Montreal, and second, the respondents had to have no prior membership with any gang.

The sample size is admittedly small, however, "the first principle that less is more, [that] it is more important to work longer, and with greater care, with a few people than more superficially with many of them" (McCracken, 1988:17). Moreover, this study does not seek to generalize about a population, rather it provides valuable descriptive

insight regarding the subculture under analysis.

3. Soliciting Potential Interviewees

Once the list of potential interviewees was assembled, the next phase of the study required meeting each interviewee individually to see whether or not he was interested in taking part. This phase varied from individual to individual. On some occasions, meetings took place in public settings, such as parks, cafés and bars. In other cases, meetings took place in potential respondents' places of residence.

Initial requests to take part in the interview remained consistent; the interviewer would meet with potential candidates wherever was most convenient: parks, bars or homes. The interviewer greeted the potential interviewee and presented herself as a Master's student in Criminology at the University of Montreal. The interviewer then asked if the candidate had decided to take part in the study. Most individuals, at this point, had questions for the interviewer. Most frequently, questions concerning respondent anonymity and to what use would the information derived be put, were asked.

The interviewer then informed potential candidates that all information and names obtained during the interviews would remain strictly confidential. Also, the information received would be used to give them a voice to air the truth regarding this phenomena. If the individual agreed, and was in a neutral setting, the interview would take place immediately. This, however, occurred only once; for the most part, interviewees chose to schedule at a later date. In addition, if the individual refused to be interviewed, he was thanked and the researcher proceeded to schedule a meeting with the next person from a list of potential respondents.

Of those who refused to take part in the study, reasons given for declining ranged

from not being able to trust that identities would remain unknown to refusing without explanation. It can be construed, however, since the interviewer was led to believe that refusal stemmed from a lack of trust of the researcher, that the researcher was not considered part of their world. One gang member who refused to take part in the study explained that he considered the researcher to be a "sell out" to her community.

Those who agreed to provide valuable insight were offered the opportunity to be interviewed immediately. As noted, most refused and chose to schedule later except for one gang member. Later scheduling, booking and locating respondents for appointments proved to be a most difficult task. Potential candidates were contacted by telephone, numerous messages would be left by the researcher that for the most part were not returned. The researcher was, therefore, challenged to pursue candidates extensively in order to gain answers necessary to the study. Additionally, when appointments were finally scheduled, many were cancelled when confirmation was attempted the day before the interview. The interviewer, therefore, was compelled to wait for contact to be made by the candidates; she did this by making herself readily available to respondents regardless of their time-demands. In one case, the interviewer received a call from a participant at nine o'clock at night who said he was ready to be interviewed and that she should be at his home within the hour. The interviewer had no choice but to accept his offer and conducted the interview that night, an interview that did not terminate until after eleven PM.

The length of the interviews varied from thirty to ninety minutes, however, on average, interviews were of fifty minutes duration and determined by how comfortable the respondent was with the researcher. In one instance, the respondent smoked a marijuana joint during the interview and chose to play music. Presumably still lacking confidence, he then got up and put his ear to the wall; he believed that his neighbours were listening and did not want them to know about his past life with the Uptown Crew.

This respondent's paranoia affected the entire interview because he was both skeptical and evasive during the proceedings, an interview that lasted forty-five minutes.

Only one interview was conducted per day, a decision largely based on the interviewer, since she assessed that the process of transcription and analysis would be best accomplished one interview at a time before proceeding to the next. No incentives were offered to the respondents for taking part in the study; one respondent, however, asked for sexual favours in compensation for his cooperation.

3.1. Respondents Characteristics

The average age of the twelve gang members, at the time the interview, was twenty-nine years. This may appear to signify an older group in the criminal context of the gang phenomenon, however, since the gangs under study were the first gangs to be recognized in the Jamaican community of Montreal, the average age is consistent. Respondents' ages ranged from 24 to 37 years old.

With regard to gang membership, most respondents on average entered their respective gangs at the age of twenty; one respondent was eighteen when he became a part of his gang. Most members remained in the gang for a period of one to seven years, with an average three-year membership.

All the respondents were born in Jamaica; most of the respondents are Canadian citizens, except for two who are permanent residents. Regarding the respondents' criminal antecedents, the time served for incarceration varied between two and five years, with an average incarceration of three years. Convictions resulting in incarceration ranged from drug trafficking to homicide. The number of arrests ranged between two and eight, except for two respondents who have never been arrested.

4. Interview Design

The interviews that form the basis of this study took place between December 1997 and April 1999; the process of making contact with potential respondents also spanned this time period. Once the objectives of the study were presented to the potential candidates, the next step consisted of gaining the trust and cooperation of individuals who were willing to take part in the study. For the most part, a list of names of potential candidates was created beforehand, by myself. The selection of the candidates was largely based on the willingness of the individuals to take part in such a study; moreover, selection of suitable candidates was limited by the criteria as previously explained.

The interview format remained largely consistent throughout the data collection period. Of the twenty-four interviews conducted for this study, the first two served exploratory purposes. The complete absence of scholarly work on the Jamaican gang phenomenon enticed the researcher to explore such a phenomenon in the Montreal context.

The fact that the researcher is well versed regarding the gang phenomenon and applied this knowledge to interviewing gang members, proved to be advantageous. This well-informed status enabled the interviewer to probe further for useful information throughout the interviews. Consequently, the researcher was predisposed to predict certain responses that could and did become evident during the course of the interviews, while preventing pitfalls. It should also be mentioned that prior knowledge and the ability to predict the course of the study does not imply manipulation. Great care was taken to ensure validity and guard against biases and pre-determined notions.

Given the foregoing objectives of the study, it was felt that semi-structured interviews provided the most appropriate research instrument to attain our research goals.

Purely structured interviews would not have been suitable for this study; that is, we did not feel that structured questions with structured answers would help us attain our objectives.

Semi-structured interviews, therefore, provided the researcher with a more advantageous vehicle for the study since the method provided flexibility. Initially, semi-structured interviews enabled the interviewer to probe fully and to further prompt questions that were structured in advance. Secondly, they allowed the interviewer to probe new themes that surfaced during the course of the interviews. As noted, the first two interviews served exploratory purposes, and the interviewer quickly recognized the fallibilities inherent since the discussion appeared to be in a question-answer format; one that was not sufficiently revealing.

The completion of the first two interviews served to point out the need to make certain changes in strategy. It was understood that for future discussions, the interviewer would allow the interview to flow naturally while probing fully when necessary. Also, with the checklist in hand if topics did not surface naturally, the researcher could re-orient the conversation in order to elicit more thematically relevant answers.

The interviews preceded as follows: before the interview commenced, the interviewer asked respondents whether the discourse could be recorded on audiotape. Respondents were assured that the tape would only be heard by the interviewer and destroyed once it was transcribed. The mere mention of a tape recorder aroused suspicion with some respondents. Further, potential respondents were informed that their names would be referred to as case numbers (for example, the first interview was referred to as case 001). Only fifteen participants agreed to be registered on tape; for the others, the researcher was forced to take notes during the interview. Note-taking during the interviews proved to be a difficult task for the interviewer, since she has no experience in

shorthand. As the respondents were talking, in some instances, the interviewer had no option but to interrupt and ask them to repeat what they had previously said. Though unwieldy, the method served to obtain otherwise impossible information and, over-all was successful.

At the end of each interview, the researcher compiled socio-demographic data on each respondent. Respondents were asked about their place and date of birth in addition to probing about their criminal antecedents. Further, only gang members were asked about the composition of their particular gang such as year of membership, age at membership and the number of total gang members in a specific group.

Once completed, the interviews were transcribed verbatim; that is, in the vernacular, the words and terms that gang members used to describe themselves. The transcription of the interviews, seemingly a never ending task, did prove to be valuable, however, tedious. Thus, the long hours of transcription would prove to be highly beneficial in the later stages of the thesis, a worthy tool with which to analyze the interviews.

5. Analysis of Interviews

Interview analyses were conducted in four stages: first, interviews were transcribed verbatim; second, the interviews were summarized in the respondents' own words so as to reconstruct the world of the interviewee; third, a vertical analysis was performed, that is, we extracted the seminal themes from each interview; fourth, we then proceeded with a transverse analysis. In other words, we analyzed themes, general ideas and the interconnection of these themes throughout the interviews, finding both consistencies and contradictions. Regarding the analysis, we hold the same view set forth by McCracken:

> If the full powers of discovery inherent in the qualitative interview are to be fully explored, the investigator must be prepared to glimpse and systematically reconstruct a view of the world that bears no relation to his or her view or the one evident in the literature. (McCracken, 1988: 42)

Beginning with the particular, we then progressed to the general. Within this analysis, we were vigilant for what the literature said was "out there" on the gang phenomenon, but we also looked for that which the literature did not anticipate. Ultimately, we hoped to expose the world as it is seen by our respondents.

CHAPTER THREE
CULTURAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF CRIME AND GANG INVOLVEMENT

The Jamaican community of Montreal is rich with cultural expression; their cultural persistence is reflected in their music, dialect, demeanour, dance, food as well as arts and crafts. Jamaican presence in Montreal has been remarkably strong, so much so that many non- Jamaicans would act as though they were descendants of Jamaican parentage. Culturally, Jamaicans have popularized several aspects of their heritage; note the appreciation of reggae music, radio shows and dance hall parties. As entrepreneurs have commercialized Jamaican music, creating a wave of people who are followers of the Jamaican culture, this trend has literally and figuratively washed the image of Jamaican Montrealers, indeed, Jamaican Canadians. While such a process is a good thing, a positive trend, it must be stated clearly that processes take time; this one is just beginning.

An overview of exactly who Jamaicans are; from what type of social origins they derive; what their strengths and weaknesses as a cultural entity are, and how the average Jamaican differs from its Canadian counterpart will provide some clues to understanding. It is hoped this chapter elucidates some important information to assist the non-Jamaican community in appreciating a unique dilemma: a transplantation by immigration from one contrived society into a strongly structured one that has proved problematic on many levels.

1.Kinship and Family Structure

Most of Canada's Black population ancestry derived from slavery from the West Indies and the United States. One of the most detrimental consequences of this slave society was the deliberate destruction of the Black family structure necessary to its creation. Though marriage was permitted in slave society, chances of the family remaining together was slim. Women and their children were under the control of their masters; women reported to no one but the master. As such, the traditional role of the

male as sole provider was nonexistent; the Black man had no legal rights to his wife or children (Walker, 1980). The fallout of slave society practice has forever plagued the Black population and the consequences remain within the black family unit today. One may wonder why Black men rarely provide for their children; this fact is not surprising, given the ramifications of Black history.

The West Indian family structure does not mirror the Canadian nuclear family structure in that a typical West Indian family pattern consists of an extended family structure (Clarke, 1957; Ramcharan, 1982; Walker, 1980). For example, "Lloyd" maintained that he lived with his grand-mother, mother, sisters and his niece and nephew. This form of extended family structure is typical for lower-class West Indians. Unlike their lower-class counterparts, upper class West Indians tend to follow the Canadian nuclear family norm (Ramcharan, 1982).

Jamaican-Canadian families are typically matriarchal; the women are almost always the head of the family structure, since, in most households, the mothers are the sole providers (Clarke, 1957; Ramcharan, 1982; Walker, 1980). In fact, Torczyner (1997) reported that in 1991 single parent households in the Black communities were two-fold that of the general population, with the former at 8.1% and the latter 3.6%. An astonishing 21% of the Black single parent families earned less than ten thousand dollars annually.

Many factors can be attributed to these higher rates of single parents in poverty in the Black communities. First, the gender imbalance in Black communities was a direct outcome of discriminatory immigration policies. There are 20,000 more Black women of childbearing age than men in Canada. Clearly, this has affected the family structure, creating even more single-headed households. Second, the financial strains that are posed on the family must not be underestimated since, generally, women earn less than men.

Third, there are many more women and children in the Black communities than men, therefore creating an even greater economic disparity within the Canadian population (Torczyner, 1997).

Low marriage rates can be directly attributed to the discriminatory immigration policies that were in place as late as 1967. Since there are fewer men in the Black communities than women, it can be imagined how difficult it might be for Black women to find suitable partners with whom to share their lives:

> *I don't know what happened; everything seemed to be fine and then one day he left. There were rumours that my children's father was sleeping with someone else, but I did not believe that. Until I got a call from his whore telling me that he no longer belonged to me. I had no choice. I had to accept that we would not be together, but what hurts the most is that he does not look for his picknys. I called him and told him I needed money for the kids and he said he is not giving me nothing. So what could I do? Whose gonna want me now I have four kids for this fool. I hate what he did to us.*

The absence of a father is often predicated with a strong matrilineal bond. Children in such circumstances tend to develop a strong affiliation with their mothers who love, nurture and offer them a sense of security. Thus, the unwillingness of Black males to assume parental responsibilities has had serious consequences on the structure and cohesion of the family. While the mothers are often away from home trying to earn a living in order to provide for their children, they are unable to give individual attention to their children who desperately need that personalized parenting, as all children do:

> *My moms was never around 'cause she had to work two jobs to feed us kids. I can't say that she raised us 'cause I remember it was my older sister who watched us all the time. I spent most of my time hanging out with my friends on the block. I have no father, he was never around anyways. I love my moms. She did the best that she can do. As I got older, I felt bad about our situation, so I went out to make*

my own money. I sold crack and did robberies to make money to help my moms out.

Children from Black communities are often raised by other people from the community, further extending the family structure. Consequently, children develop intimate relationships with other individuals outside of the immediate family unit. "The result has been a black family structure that is loosely tied in terms of blood relationship, but powerfully construed in terms of human relationships" (Walker, 1980:159).

West Indian culture then can be seen to be constructed around the extended family unit. The elderly play an important role in rearing their grand children; when mothers are away from the home, it is the grandmother who raises her grandchildren. The elderly are role models for their children and their children's children. It falls on their shoulders also to educate their grandchildren about their culture, but unfortunately, in Canada there is a dearth of elderly role models in the Black communities. To further exacerbate an already dismal situation, children in the Black community constitute a higher percentage than in the total population. In 1991, persons under the age of 14 accounted for 27% of the Black communities and approximately 1 in 5 or 21% of the total population, while 1 in 10 of the Blacks in Canada is 55 years and over. Simply stated, this means there are twice as many elderly persons in the total population as there are in the Black communities (Torczyner, 1997).

These figures are alarming because the Black community per se has a younger population than the Canadian population as a whole. There are definite consequences of such imbalances and the impact can be felt by the financial strains that are imposed on the Black communities. Children need to be financially supported and nurtured though tangible and intangible inheritances that are past down from the elderly; tangible legacies as well as intangible ones are relatively non existent due to the small elderly population in Canada. Lacking a reversal in this trend there continues to be, at least to date, a self-

propagating vicious circle of deprivation.

1.1. Gender Specific Roles: The Jamaican Christening Party

For the purpose of this thesis, I will limit my descriptions of several encounters that were indeed preliminary, and focus rather on a few striking depictions that best illustrate gender specific roles I personally witnessed in the Jamaican Montreal community. I was, for example, invited to a Jamaican baptismal, which was followed by a party. This invitation was the perfect opportunity to observe the individuals in a neutral setting. What will follow is a direct observation of the events that took place at the Christening party on Sunday May, 16 1999.

I chose not to attend the church ceremony and presented myself at Tammy's house where the party was held. The hostess and her boyfriend had decided to have a barbecue since it was a nice day. As I arrived at the front of the house, there were people drinking beer and sitting on the front porch of the house. When I entered the house, I greeted Tammy's parents and a family friend who were sitting in the living room conversing. I preceded to walk to the kitchen where there were approximately twelve women; some were serving food and some were watching the children who were running in and out of the house. Tammy's mother-in-law had prepared the food and was in the kitchen talking to guests.

The barbecue-type Christening party was particularly interesting. As a I moved to the back door which leads to the yard, there were five Jamaican men between the ages of 26 and 50 years old standing on the left hand corner of the back yard smoking blunts and drinking beer. Right beside them there was a row of approximately twelve empty beer bottles. As I looked to the right hand corner of the yard, there stood a man in his early forties with a young woman no older than thirty-five smoking a joint of marijuana. As

the guests were smoking their drugs, the children were in the yard running and playing.

Most of the women were upstairs tending to the food, guests and children. I decided to go downstairs to the basement because they had hired a disc jockey to play music, and I knew him. I went downstairs to the basement where I found the room was filled with marijuana smoke. At the right side of the basement two individuals were smoking a joint while playing dominoes; there was about two hundred dollars on the table, so I presume the stakes were high. In the middle of the basement stood a thirty-six inch Sony television where about six men were watching a basketball game; they were shouting and rooting for their team.

At the left hand side of the basement stood a table where five men, including the hostess's boyfriend, were playing cards; they were gambling and the scene was very tense. Bottles were being banged on tables; some men were swearing and becoming very impatient because they were losing. The center of the table was filled with 20, 50, and 100 dollar bills. I would estimate there was in excess of a thousand dollars lying on the table.

Interestingly, all the men at the table, except for John, had their prostitute girlfriends standing beside them. Three of the prostitutes were Caucasian and one was Black, ranging from 17 to 29 years of age. It is commonly known that these girls were strippers for a while before they became prostitutes. I had said hello to one of the guys; we had known each other for about seven years by this time. His girlfriend turned around and looked at me as if to say "that is mine do not touch." I then went over to the DJ and spoke to him for a little while. Baffling to me was the discovery that his girlfriend is also a prostitute. Ironically, I went to college with this girl; she had graduated with honours and had a brilliant future. I wondered for a brief moment what went wrong in her life.

I mentally registered the scene; there were about sixty beer bottles laying around; I stood in the basement watching the men play cards and listened to the music. The women talked about clothing, their men and their profession. Notably, the women upstairs and the relatives knew what was taking place in the basement, but it seemed not to worry them; they are accustomed to this type of environment. I noticed that the hostess did not come downstairs, not once; she knew her place. She knew that her role was to tend to the guests and the children - that is what is expected of her. She knew not to disturb John when he was with his friends. During the three hours that I was there, John spent the entire time gambling. Anything that he wanted from upstairs he would call for, dialling his home phone with his cellular phone, he would make his request and someone would bring him whatever he needed.

At the end of the night, I decided that I would clean up the basement so that I could conduct more direct observation. This event was quite interesting because although this was supposed to be the celebration of a baby's Christening, the purpose of the gathering was subverted to a get together where the majority of guests consumed drugs and gambled. I could see, however, that Tammy had to assume the role that was expected of her.

1.2. Baby Mothers

What is a "baby mother"? This is a term currently used in the Black Communities to identify a woman as having a child with a certain individual. English Black West Indian women, and women in the Jamaican community in general, have children from different men. Note that in Canada, Black women of child bearing age outnumber Black men by 20,000. Therefore, families consisting of siblings that are half brothers and sisters should not come as a surprise. This is the norm in the Jamaican community.

Baby mothers are constantly fighting and arguing with each other over who the man belongs to, as if he is their possession. Scenes of these arguments can be seen in public places such as the dance hall parties where these women actually resort to fist fights, sometimes escalating to attacks with broken beer bottles.

Ironically, women will fight for these men although they are no longer in relationships with them. This behaviour is not uncommon in the Jamaican community; where there are hundreds of women experiencing this situation presently. One may wonder why these women have children with different men. By way of explanation, recall that most often these women's mothers also had children with different men, an accepted many-generational practice born of necessity and perpetuated by circumstances.

Pregnancies are generally unplanned; often these women have children to trap Black men hoping the men will not leave them. This is a misconception, and many Jamaican and Black West Indian women have experienced that bearing a child for an individual does not guarantee that he will remain with them and support the child.

Some Jamaican women are only attracted to gangsters, an attraction that appears to derive from the excitement of being with a dangerous man and the respect derived from being known as the gangster's baby mother. These women live in what they may consider luxury, that is, they can do their hair and nails as often as they like, enjoying the financial benefits of a continuous supply of money, worry-free. They are considered to be the gangster's "bonified woman".

Bonified woman is a term that is used to refer to a man's main partner, his confidant, his trusted better half, one who will hold his money for him and know all of his illegal ventures. To cite one example, Suzette was an ex-Walkley Crew member's "bonified woman." She has three children by him and she benefited from the illegal

activities with which he was involved. Suzette was living a life of luxury with a nice car and home, her children always well taken care of. When the Walkley Crew was raided in 1992 she stood by her babies' father. She attended all his trials, visited him in prison and took part in the trailer visits during his two years of incarceration.

This bonified status, however, came at a price; she was constantly, and still is today trying to intimidate other women who are dating her babies father, although the couple are no longer together. In her mind, he belongs to her because he fathered her three children. His infidelity was accepted while Suzette remained in the relationship with him, despite the fact that he fathered four other children while dating her. Instead of confronting her partner, she confronted the other women and blamed them for his infidelity.

It is important to understand that the gang members' "bonified women" do not partake in the illegal activities of their boyfriend. Gender specific roles are clear; these women are there to maintain a decent home for their partner, to satisfy their sexual needs, to take care of the children and to cook for him. Often they are rewarded in the form of money, in accordance with how much the partner appreciates his "bonified woman."

These women often share their partners with mistresses. It is rare that a Jamaican man or West Indian Black man is faithful. Replete with the elevated status of "gangster," many women seek them out in the hope that these men will help them financially. It is considered very risky to date a gangster who has a bonified woman, but for some it is worth the challenge. Jamaican men are controlling and do not have much respect for the women they are with. Baby mothers are treated as possessions; simply having a child in the hope your partner will stay with you constitutes their concept of a relationship. Having children with different men is culturally accepted for these Black women; since they grew up in homes where male infidelity was tolerated.

Despite their partners' infidelity bonified women remain in the relationship for financial reasons, but are subjected to an imbalance of power. The partners of baby mothers are akin to bosses. If their partners tell them to go home, the women have no choice but to abide by his orders. If their partner decides that they cannot go to a dance, they will stay home. Instead of blaming their partner for their infidelities, they blame the other woman. In the baby mother's eyes, it is always the woman who lures the man, not the reverse.

Gender specific roles in the Jamaican community are quite clear. The women who date these men are expected to assume specific roles; they must be good mothers, faithful girlfriends, maintain a decent home for their partner, cook and clean. They are told how to dress, when to fight and when they should not go out, as well as, tolerate their partner's mistresses. Their partners bring them both joy and pain, but ultimately, despite the women's defiance at times, the men always remain in control.

2. Cultural Organization

As the Jamaican community grew in Montreal there was a need for them to have a voice, to be represented. To this end, the Jamaican Association of Montreal came into being in 1962 with a mandate to assess the needs of the Jamaican community in order to provide it with adequate services. The Jamaican Association of Montreal's commitment to its mandate is evident in the social, political, educational and cultural integration of Jamaican-Canadians with other Montrealers. In short, the association's mission is to improve the quality of life of the Jamaican community, in all its varied aspects.

The Jamaican Association of Montreal has created events and implemented programs to aid in the formation of a healthy Jamaican community in Montreal. For example, the Jamaica Day Festival found its inception in 1980. Alexander Noel the

founder of the Jamaica Day Festival, felt it was important for Montrealers to understand that Jamaicans are proud people with a rich cultural legacy. The festival, which has attracted thousands of people from diverse cultural backgrounds every year, is an organized exposition of Jamaican cultural expression. The portrayal of different forms of the Jamaican culture can all be found within the exposition of arts and crafts, food, dance, music and song.

Although governments have designated funds in order for The Jamaican Association to implement educational programs within the community, these programs have not found great success with the Jamaican Community members of Montreal. What could be construed as a lack of interest of the Jamaican community to benefit from such programs, may in fact be far more fundamental, such as low literacy levels, lack of familiarity with computer technology and French as a second language.

The lack of efficient leaders is a major problem that not only plagues the Jamaican community in Montreal, but also West Indian communities nation wide. Given the numerous dilemmas with which Black immigrants are forced to deal, it could be expected that such a conundrum would galvanize them, unite them, cause them to become cohesive, assertive and proactive. However, this does not seem to be the case; West Indian communities are divided along class, ethnic and cultural orientations. "Unfortunately, the West Indian community is marked by schisms and fragmentation making for weak and ineffectual leaders" (Ramcharan, 1982:49).

Clearly, the Jamaican community in Montreal lacks political representation, but this does not seem to be an urgent agenda item. The majority of its members seem to prefer to associate themselves in informal settings such as sports clubs, recreational associations and dance clubs. Observation reveals that the most popular form of recreation for Jamaicans in Montreal is dancing and dominos. Inexplicably, the vast

majority of Jamaicans do not see the importance of being involved in formal associations which might improve their quality of life in the host society.

2.1. Informal Association

Generally, many Jamaicans attend dance hall parties regularly, their most avid method of associating. Dance parties are often held in halls (i.e. church basements, bingo halls, and school cafeterias) that are rented to Montreal promoters. Why the name "dance hall parties"? Simply because the music played is strictly reggae. When dance hall parties are advertised, it is generally understood it will be a reggae dance. The young and the old gather, not only Jamaicans but individuals from different cultural backgrounds, to dance in a dark hall. It is so dark in these halls that partygoers walk around with flash lights or lighters to see who is at the dance or to find their way around the party.

Every year Jamaican women from Montreal compete for the title of Dance Hall Queen, seemingly a prestigious title within the Jamaican community. A dance hall queen must be a woman who attends such parties on a regular basis and who proves to be the best dancer. A panel of judges decide who will be the dance hall queen of the year. Over the past few years, prizes have ranged from trophies to trips for two to Jamaica.

Numerous "sounds" can be found at such dances; by "sounds" I refer to a group of young men who act as the disk jockeys for the night. A few of the more popular Montreal "sounds" are Black Temple, Road Warrior, Little Thunder and Black Harmony. Sometimes members hold sound clashes, that is, "sounds" from across Canada, the United States and Jamaica are invited to compete against the Montreal "sounds" for the honour of being named the "best sound".

Dance hall parties are generally advertised as "nuff security", meaning there will

be tight security. This security consists of numerous men with walkie-talkies and rottweiller dogs. Since dance attendants are frisked at the door with metal detectors, it could be assumed that stringent security measures ensure that parties are safe, but in the past people have lost their lives or have become victims of aggravated assault at these gatherings. It is known that certain individuals refuse to be frisked and are let in because many acting security guards want to avoid confrontations with these individuals.

Alternatively, women carry weapons into the party for their boyfriends. Apparently, a gun can be inserted into the vagina as though it were a tampon. Consequently, a significant number of weapons go undetected in this manner. Adding to the problem, bouncers are known to permit their friends to enter knowing they are carrying guns. Guns are also brought in by the DJ's in their record crates and DJ's are not frisked. Clearly, security measures are questionable at these parties, though it should be noted it has been approximately a year since any major violent incidents have occurred at these dances.

2.1.1. Flash and Demeanour

Dance hall wear is referred to as a "frock"; usually, this is clothing that stands out such as plastic suits, sequent, linen and jeans' outfits which are tailor-made for the special event. For instance, if a group of girls belong to a crew, they will all dress alike, wearing the same colours; their hair, clothing and shoes will all be the same colour. However, there are different female crews at these parties. To name a few will suffice: the Bushment Crew consists of three females ranging in age from twenty-one to twenty-six years of age who reside in Côte-des-Neiges. Yet another, the Buffalous Crew are self-named due to their ample breast size and full figures. Then there is Miss Stop Traffic, a young female in her mid-twenties who was so named because of the way she danced at such parties.

When party-goers attend dance hall parties, they often wear the price tag on their clothing as a way of letting everyone know that they are wearing expensive designer clothing. At a dance hall party it is common to see price tags with the names of such designers as Tommy Hilfiger, Nautica, Versace, Ralph Lauren and Dolce & Gabana. The tag is visibly worn on belt loops, baseball caps, skirts and shirts.

Women habitually wear form-fitting clothing to show off their bodies, no matter what their size or shape. A 'nice figure' is not a requirement for wearing form-fitting clothing; women can be skinny or full figured, but one thing is certain, women wear their clothing with great confidence and pride. Additionally, regardless of weather conditions, summer clothing is worn all year round to such parties; sandals, tube tops, summer dresses and no stockings in the winter is the norm.

Jamaican men, as a rule, hang out in cliques at the parties, often standing against walls smoking joints of marijuana. As a matter of fact, the amount of marijuana smoked in the dancehall parties can be great enough to produce a 'high' in a non-smoker by virtue of second-hand smoke density. Wallabies, ankle-high suede shoes are the footwear of choice for male party goers. Designer brand baggy jeans or pants and shirts with price tags hanging from them comprise the remainder of wardrobe selection for males.

Honda cars are the automobiles of choice for many Jamaicans, those of course that are equipped with tinted windows and loud sound systems. These cars sport Jamaican ornaments hanging in the rear-view windows almost invariably so that everyone will know that the car's owner is a Jamaican. Jeeps, however, are beginning to find a niche with the very fashionable in the Jamaican community.

A group denied is a group that will defy. We have noted previously the manner by which Jamaican-Montrealers defy traditional Canadian lifestyle association; they opt

for informal, culture-friendly activities where they set unique rules for manner of dress and speech, defiantly rejecting Canadian weapons' law but doing so within their own context.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE SOCIAL EMBEDDEDNESS OF CRACK DISTRIBUTION

1. The Social Organization of West Indian Blacks in Montreal

Though desirable, it is exceedingly difficult to provide an accurate figure of the size of the English Black population in Montreal, however, in 1970, the figure given for the Black population was said to be 15,000 (Williams, 1994). Moreover, one author claimed that 150,000 as a figure for the Black population size in Montreal was a conservative estimate (Marcil, 1981). One thing is certain as noted previously, no accurate figure for the West Indian population in Quebec is available. There are no statistics relating to return migration, inaccurate census reporting and illegal immigration, all of which defies accurate assessment.

In the 1970s, the English-speaking Blacks who moved out of the slum districts were West Indian immigrants. In fact, 8% of the middle-class Black population residing in Lasalle moved to the West Island and South Shore. The West Indian population in Lasalle had doubled in a ten year period, between 1971 and 1981, however, in 1986 the Black population in Lasalle was estimated to be between 15,000 and 20,000 (Williams, 1989). Despite this increase in Lasalle, the West Island and South Shore populations were also increasing. Many Blacks chose to leave their old neighbourhoods once they became upwardly mobile; they wanted to live like the white middle-class.

Many factors influenced their departure from the slum districts, however, an increase in their economic gains was the most important single factor that influenced the dispersal of English-speaking West Indians. Additionally, the large influx of lower class Blacks served as encouragement for them to relocate, since they did not want to associate themselves with disadvantaged Blacks:

> *We used to live in little Burgundy, but we got fed up of living there. Little Burgundy was the inner city. We lived there because we could not afford anything else. We have two children and we want them to*

become somebody, but how can you do that when in your own neighbourhood all you see is people who don't work, sell drugs and hang out on the corner. My husband worked two jobs and I finished college. Once we had enough money we bought a house in the South Shore. By 1985, we were ready to move out of the ghetto. We finally got out when the crack cocaine craze started. We bought our home in Brossard.

The well-to-do Blacks could not, however, completely escape living with the poorer Blacks, lower-class Blacks also wanted to acquire the lifestyle of the white middle class. Thus, the lower-class Black group became the fastest growing population in the West Island in 1986. White middle-class home owners were now renting their homes to lower-class Blacks since the owners were moving to downtown Montreal (Williams, 1997). For example, Sandra, a beneficiary of social aid, moved out of Lasalle to live in the West Island; she wanted to move out of the Lasalle Heights in order to provide a decent environment for her children. Though rent would be more expensive than the city house in which she was living, she was willing to endure sacrifices to make a better life for her children. Lower-class Blacks were now residing in suburban areas, but they were not considered middle-class. They did, however, benefit from access to better schools and municipal services (Williams, 1997).

We will review four major districts that are of interest for this study: Quartier Georges Vanier, Notre Dame de Grâce, Côte-des-Neiges and Ville St-Laurent. This is not to say that Black immigrants did not live in other areas of Montreal, only that it is beyond the scope of this thesis to delve deeper into the sociological study of Black residency; suffice, for our purposes, to limit sociological inquiry to the aforementioned densely Black populated areas.

1.1. Quartier Georges Vanier

Wanting to eradicate the negative connotation that was associated with the Little Burgundy district, in 1984 the Municipal administration chose to rename the district Quartier Georges Vanier. The district was under a massive development of condominiums, triplexes and houses. The municipal government, no longer offering to build low income housing, was selling vacant lots to private developers (Williams, 1989, 1997). This was clearly a refurbishment for the community, however, beautification of the once known slum district meant that those who would be most affected would be the lower-class population.

This refurbishment came with a high price; that is, many could no longer afford to live there. The city's refusal to build low-income housing meant the poor were no longer welcome in that district and those who remained would eventually leave:

> *I used to live downtown, but I moved to Toronto in 1980. When I returned to my old neighbourhood, I did not recognized it; there were some nice homes now. Most of my old friends had moved because they could not afford to live there anymore. The city had increased the rents so that they could no longer afford to live there. I think it was a way of telling us we don't want no more poor Blacks living here. I noticed most of the people who are living in the nice houses are well-to-do Asians and Whites.*

While middle-class whites and well-to-do immigrants were attracted to Quartier Georges Vanier, the middle class children would play with each other and the poorer children would play amongst themselves. Boundaries were in place, neighbours were divided along class lines.

The lack of low income housing and the privatization of many lots led to a large

clustering of Black residents on certain streets in Quartier Georges Vanier. Blacks could be found on these streets:

1) St-Jacques, from Richmond to Georges Vanier;
2) Richmond, between St-Jacques and St-Antoine;
3) St-Antoine, from Richmond Square to Georges Vanier;
4) des Seigneurs on the east side, from St-Jacques to St-Antoine;
5) Vinet, between Lionel-Groulx and Workman;
6) Lionel-Groulx, from Chatam to Dominion Street;
7) Workman, from Chatam to Georges Vanier;
8) the south west corner of St-Antoine and Vinet;
9) Quesnel, from Chatam to Dominion;
10) The west side of Chatam and the east side of Canning, between St-Jacques and Quesnel;
11)Coursol from Dominion to Terrace Coursol and des Seigneurs; and
12) St-Martin Block Project (Williams, 1989:91).

The City's administrative policies and private developers had effectively delineated the neighbourhood along economic lines. While the well-to-do residents lived on one side of the district, the poor residents lived clustered together and apart. The streets where Blacks lived were not refurbished and became dilapidated tenements; the city was not renovating the low-income housing complexes. Generally, when landlords do not take pride in and care for their property, the tenants themselves are not motivated to keep up their homes.

1.2. Notre Dame de Grâce District

Deterioration was felt most acutely on Walkley Street, between Somerled and Chester. These were blocks of tenement houses where the majority of the residents were poor Black immigrants. Low-income houses could be found on Walkley Street, but even the apartments that were privately owned were inexpensive to rent. Many of the Walkley

Street residents were living below the poverty line; some were beneficiaries of social aid, many were working as housekeepers, orderlies and companions. Grand Street, between St-Jacques Street and de Maisonneuve Boulevard was riddled with dilapidated houses; rent was inexpensive and landlords did not maintain their buildings. Both Grand Boulevard and Walkley Street were known to be ghettos; it is, therefore, not surprising that drug trafficking proliferated from these areas. Williams (1989: 95) contends that there are four major areas where Blacks live in Notre Dame de Grâce:

> 1) Along Upper Lachine Road north to Sherbrooke from Decarie west to Trenholm Park;
> 2) The Villa Maria corridor north from Sherbrooke Street to Cote-st-Luc Road, between Decarie and Grey;
> 3) From Somerled to Côte-st-Luc Road between Walkley and Randall, including Fielding, from Coronation to Walkley.

Unlike any other districts in the Montreal area, the Notre Dame de Grâce area housed two gangs who vied for conflictual territorial control of the area; both the Walkley Crew and the Grand Massive gangs were distributing crack cocaine in this locale, but the Walkley Crew's activities were predominantly centered on Walkley Avenue. Thus, the Walkley Crew's territorial control was contained from Walkley Avenue, between Somerled and Côte-St-Luc Road., Westminister Avenue to the west, Sherbrooke Street to the south and Côte-St-Luc Road to the north.

The Walkley Crew originated in the 80s, and at that time their drug market consisted only of marijuana, hashish and, seldomly, powdered cocaine, however, the original members of Walkley were deported:

> *I mean the crew was from the 80s, but them times you see in the 80s, the rock thing never so established. One or two people used to sell powdered cocaine, but it was mainly weed. Everybody sell weed or hashish.*

Thus, the revival of the Walkley Crew was said to have occurred in the 90s with the new lucrative drug market of crack cocaine. The Crew had ten members, all of whom were Jamaicans.

There was speculation in the newspapers maintaining that the Walkley Crew had a Haitian member, but as one member put it:

> *He was not a part of the Crew; he was just a weed smoker and sometimes he used to be where we used to cook and sell food. He would be the only guy outside and people would come and see him and he would come and see someone who dealt with that. So he just got caught up in between. When me and him was charged, he was charged with conspiracy. He always lived on Walkley he was okay; he was like a wannabee; he just wanted to smoke his weed, but he just get caught up at the wrong place and wrong time.*

Most gang members were selling crack, marijuana, Jamaican hash and stolen goods out of tenement buildings that could be found on Walkley Avenue, Côte-St-Luc Road and Prince of Wales Street. Others, however, chose to sell their drugs on the street corner of Walkley Avenue and Chester:

> *We did have seven bases. Who choose to sell in a base will sell in a base. Me, I feel too cooped up. I like to see. I have my shit in the back. Your custee come, you bring him to the back. Sometimes you take the money and say look under the rock you see two pieces or look over there you see one piece. If it's a white man you don't trust, you take the money and say look over there you will see the stuff. Me, I never really go for the base.*

The facts are indisputable: some members of the Walkley Crew chose to sell in the streets, whereas most members felt that it was more secure to sell in "base houses." The crack cocaine business was lucrative; not only did they receive monetary wealth, but often crack addicts would commit robberies and offer such things as VCR's, TV's, stereos

and jewellery to purchase drugs. For instance, one member reported that he had received diamond rings, gold chains, cameras and VCR's as payment for crack cocaine:

> *Things was good you know; crack heads would come with a thousand dollar system and I would give them two rocks that's worth forty dollars. They had no choice they wanted it so badly that they would sell the goods for next to nothing. Some of the stuff I kept, but most of the time I would sell and make crazy money.*

Profits were not only made through the lucrative drug market, but gang members were quick to spot an opportunity to maximize profits by receiving goods and selling those goods to members of the community.

Some Walkley Avenue residents were hired as workers to aid in drug distribution; they would receive weekly pay for their services. This practice proved worthwhile for residents although there were risks involved. Benefiting from social aid, they could barely meet their needs; this work enabled them to augment their incomes. As one worker recalls:

> *I went to work everyday; it was like a job, I got paid every week. I was in charge of the morning shift. I sold crack out of the base from six in the morning to three in the afternoon, then another worker would replace me to start his shift. I'm not proud of what I did, but how was I to survive? I came here from Jamaica and even if I had my welder's card, I was not able to find a job. I wanted to work, but they're too racist here. So I sold dope. I'm not proud of it, but I'm not ashamed either. A man has to do what he has to do to survive out here. It was like I was living the life that I wanted to. I had a nice ride, clothes and lots of money. I made about five hundred a week. I did good.*

The social, political and, therefore, criminological import of this sequence of actions and reactions will become clearer as our discussion progresses. However, it is notable at this time to demonstrate the impact the police had on this gang in

particular: the Walkley Crew. At that point in their history, the gang was destroyed. In fact, it was the police that put an end to their activities as one member indicated:

> *In 1992, they organized this big raid, but how they really do it? You know you have this guy he was a black guy. This guy from Côte-des-Neiges, he see him and ask him for some product; he wanted to get some product. Crack, that's what we used to sell. Some sell weed, some sell rock ... but we used to have doubts still, it was too easy. He come, he want to buy product, then after he want to buy arms ... So, the guy come; but because he is Black everybody thinks he's cool, but he was a narc; so, eventually, he come and buy from everybody on the block.*

Essentially, the Walkley Crew members did not view themselves as "gang members", rather, they envisioned themselves as "just a bunch of friends hanging out", trying to make some money. Since there exists a negative connotation to the word "gang", they do not and did not refer to themselves as such, but, instead refer to themselves as friends collaborating to make money, remain connected socially and resist labelling by the establishment; i.e., the police coined them "THE WALKLEY CREW."

The Grand Massive was formed in 1988, that is, members started hanging out together around that time. Most of the gang's trafficking consisted of marijuana, cocaine and crack cocaine. While some members were from different backgrounds, most of its members were Jamaicans. The Grand Massive was made up of ten core and six fringe members.

> *We were not gang really. What because a bunch of Jamaicans hang out together they call us a gang. We just hung out and made money however we could. We sold crack, weed and them things. A we rule NDG The Walkley guys, them never rule, they were punks. We used to robbed them base and take their dope. It was a matter of survival. About sixteen of us used to run thins in a the NDG area.*

Most of the gangs activity could be found on Grand Boulevard, between St-Jacques Street and Upper Lachine Road:

> *We had a base in them old buildings on Grand, on Decarie and Regent. Everyday, man used to work selling the shit to make a living. Most of the crack heads from the area bought our shit.*

The Grand Massive's territorial control was bordered by Sherbrooke Street to the north, St-Jacques to the south and Decarie Boulevard to the east. Although the Grand Massive had gained territorial control of part of the Notre Dame de Grâce district, their gang was destroyed in the mid 90s. As one member reported:

> *We were making a lot of money and I guess we got greedy and stupid. Some of us were causing problems with other crews. We used to do drive-bys on Walkley. The police too kept on raiding us. I guess we love to show off too much, that's how it ended. Not only that, some members get dead and some members were fighting against other crew members some even get dead still. We had bank and as Jamaicans we wanted to show people, hey don't fuck with us or else. We'd go to dances and stand up in the corner and show ourselves with our frocks and gold chains. It just got to our head. We lost control and then things started to go wrong.*

The Grand Massive dissolution was directly due to their display of material wealth and the attraction they brought to themselves. The police were now keeping a close watch on them; members were shooting and sometimes killing each other because no trust remained. When their base houses were raided, they accused one member of being an informant; it so happened that the member had left the house just before the police raided them, so they thought it was a set-up. Though the Grand Massive gang was short-lived, it did aid in the deterioration of certain streets in the Notre Dame de Grâce district, those that were considered "Black Streets."

Despite the obvious monetary benefits individuals gained, overall the social aspect of crack cocaine distribution in Montreal had detrimental effects on the communities where drug trafficking took place. It created economic incentives and opportunities for many inner city individuals; individuals who were once unemployed, found employment in the drug trade at least temporarily. Permanent damage occurred though as apartment buildings deteriorated rapidly in the districts where crack was sold; tenants gave up the right to live and raise their families in a healthy environment. Many residents became addicted to crack cocaine and were committing robberies to pay for their habits. Female crack addicts were prostituting themselves and even using the drug while pregnant.

1.3. Côte-des-Neiges District

Côte-des-Neiges has always been a reception area for immigrants. With the influx of the Black population in the 1960s, the process of deterioration of the district began. Black immigrants could be found on such streets as Goyer, Barclay, Victoria and Dupuis because they were most accessible. The deterioration of the Côte-des-Neiges district was a two fold process. First, as the white middle-class left the area for the suburbs, there was a decrease in social services aid which led to the ultimate deterioration of social services in the area. Second, the remaining white population was comprised of the elderly who could not afford to move to the suburbs. While still remaining in the district, these elderly residents segregated themselves from the Black population which in turn led to the labelling of certain streets as white streets and Black Streets (Williams, 1989).

The landlords who moved to the suburbs had no interest in maintaining their buildings. In fact, they seemed to have neglected to provide even the most basic services where the non-white population lived (Teteilbaum, 1983). Moreover, landlords rented to immigrants who were unaware of their civil rights and who were vulnerable. This

enabled them to charge them exorbitant rents and not worry about legal sanctions being brought against them. When word was out that certain landlords would rent to immigrants, many newcomers took the path of least resistance (Quann, 1979).

Failure to maintain the buildings where non-whites were housed led to a rapid deterioration of the Black streets; blocks upon blocks of tenement housing proliferated. Many upwardly mobile Blacks left the area to go to the suburbs, leaving poor Blacks to live in the squalor of such a district (Williams, 1989); in fact, it is said that 36% of the total anglophone Black population resided in Côte-des-Neiges (Warner,1983). According to Williams (1989), "Blacks could be found on such streets as Goyer, Barclay, Appleton, Bedford, de Coutrai, Mackenzie, Vezina, Kent, and de Peltrie" (p. 94).

The Côte-des-Neiges district was also plagued with the crack epidemic. As one member reported the distribution of crack cocaine was said to have begun in the mid-eighties:

> *We started selling crack in the neighbourhood from the beginning of the crew. I think it was in 1986.*

There were more than ten crack houses in the area. All the apartments where crack was sold were located in tenement housing neglected by both landlords and residents. According to Peter, an ex-Uptown Crew Member, crack houses could be found on such streets as Barclay, Goyer, Plamondon, Bourret and Vezina. He reported that the gang distributed crack cocaine in Mandela Park on Victoria Ave, also.

The Uptown Crew was made up of approximately twenty-five members. The crew's hard-core members were relatives; that is, it was a family business which consisted of four brothers plus several cousins and nephews. Although the majority of the gang's members were Jamaicans, some derived from different ethnic backgrounds. They

began selling crack cocaine, marijuana and Jamaican hash in the Côte-des-Neiges district, but in truth they had strong territorial control of the Côte-des-Neiges district bordered by Jean-Talon to the north, Queen Mary road to the south and Decarie Boulevard to the west.

The dissolution of the Uptown Crew was said to have occurred when the leader was killed in the early 90s. One member reported:

> *After the dread dead, there was no trust. People in the Crew they wanted too much, so everybody scattered. To each his own, and friendship came to war. Friends became enemies. A lot of friends fought against other friends and some lost their lives. There was conflict in the Crew as a result of greed and envy.*

The Uptown gang members were responsible for the destruction of the gangs lucrative territorial control; greed destroyed trust and loyalty. The Uptown Crew was dissolved when the Dread, apparently the leader, was killed. Obviously, leaderless the individual members were directionless and lacked cohesion. The Crew had materialized in the early 80s and was dissolved by the late 80s early 90's; some members fled to other jurisdictions, while others were arrested and were deported.

In fact, many of the members have moved to other jurisdictions such as Ottawa and Toronto to traffic drugs, to pursue pimping careers with prostitutes and dancers:

> *Me, after I left the crew, I moved to Ottawa. I have one base there, but I make most of money with my two girls. They strip for me; it's safer that way, you don't draw attention to yourself.*

1.4. Cartierville District

The St-Laurent Black community primarily consists of old-line Black Canadian families. With the influx in the 1970s of West Indian immigrants, there was an increase in the Black population in St-Laurent; it was said that the Black population in the St-Laurent district in the 80's numbered in the thousands. As such, Blacks can be found on "Couvrette, west to O'Brien, from Cote-Vertu to Poirier; 2) Grenet to St-Germain, from Du college to Laval; Duguay South to the Alexis Nihon Corridor (Williams, 1989:100).

Ville St-Laurent also experienced a deterioration of apartment buildings where the non-white population were residents, especially in Cartierville where, on Grenet and Dulongpre Streets, there were blocks of tenement housing. Landlords tended to neglect their buildings while failing to provide basic services. Some landlords rented their apartments on a monthly basis, while others would rent their tenement housing without a lease.

In 1989, the first raid of crack cocaine took place in Cartierville (La Penna, 1998). However, crack cocaine had appeared in Cartierville three years before the first raid took place. Indeed, users and sellers point to 1986:

> *When crack came to Montreal where was making the most money was the Bronx. It was in 1986-1987, that's when it came in. It was the Bronx Massive that brought it in. It was Jamaicans that brought it in.*

The Bronx Massive was formed in 1987 by an American who saw that great profits could be made by distributing crack cocaine in the Cartierville district. The gang was made up of ten Jamaicans and one American. Most of the gang's activities were found to be on Grenet and Dulongpré Street in the Cartierville district. However, their territorial control bordered Laurentian Blvd. toward the western side, O'Brien Boulevard

to the east side, and from Gouin Boulevard to the north. They were involved in trafficking marijuana, cocaine, crack cocaine and stolen goods.

> *A we ruled the Bronx area them time there. No one could come and sell pond we hood, if not them dead. We controlled things in a the Bronx. The Bronx Massive a we rule.*

Despite the raid on the Bronx Massive, it did not serve as a deterrent from rival gangs seeking to control distribution of crack in Cartierville. In the early 90s the gang was dissolved; as one gang member reported:

> *Some members get killed, some get bite and were in jail, and some get deported. That's how it ended; there was too much backstabbing and man get greedy.*

Cartierville was a district where economic opportunities were scarce for the immigrants who lived there; it proved an ideal district for the Bronx Massive to distribute crack cocaine. First, the tenement apartments provided an ideal setting to sell drugs. Second, crack cocaine provided economic incentives for those who were poor. Third, many individuals chose to escape the reality of their lives by consuming drugs. For example, Derrick reported that drug traffickers in Cartierville gained a significant amount of money because the area had a lot of drug users.

Although the Bronx Massive was formed from the economic incentives that crack cocaine brought them, they did not consider themselves a gang:

> *We was never a gang; it's people like the police who started calling us that. We were just a bunch a friends trying to make some money; we did for a while.*

The Bronx Massive aided in the rapid deterioration of the district since many

apartments were now under the control of the Bronx Massive, (especially on Dulongpré and Grenet Streets) to distribute their crack cocaine. This epidemic in the late 80s affected the whole community; in fact, those who could afford it were moving out of their apartments and the landlords could not do anything about it:

> *I know I don't have that much money, but I was not about to live in an area were I was afraid of leaving my house because I might be robbed by these crack heads. I moved out of there as soon as I could. People were coming in and out of my building it was like a big traffic jam. You had prostitutes hanging out in the building. Sometimes I would be awaken by loud noises like people were fighting or something.*

As a result of fear and intimidation, many residents left the area leaving some apartment buildings completely empty. Prostitutes were now soliciting on the street corners to pay for their drug habits. Some residents who became addicts were committing crimes to pay for their habits. Violence erupted due to the informal nature of crack distribution; fights over territorial control were common. On many occasions residents were awakened by gun-shots:

> *I was awaken one night because their was a loud argument between a drug dealer who accused a crack head of robbing him. A fight broke out and shots were fired.*

Reviewing that which is known, crack appeared in those neighbourhoods which had experienced social and economic deprivation in the decade prior to its arrival (Hoschild, 1989; Tienda, 1989; Wacquant and Wilson; 1989). It is clear to see that once the pattern of deterioration was formally entrenched in these districts, the proliferation of the illicit drug market was rapid, notably crack cocaine. Quartier Georges Vanier, Notre Dame de Grâce, Côte-des-Neiges, Lasalle and Cartierville were plagued with the emergence of an informal drug economy. The distribution of crack cocaine almost certainly emerged from the districts where deterioration was greatest, specifically, those

streets labelled "Black streets." The high demand of a new drug in an unregulated market made crack highly profitable; it created incentives and opportunities for organizations to form. Understanding the proliferation of crack cocaine in Montreal will shed light on the emergence of Jamaican Gangs in Montreal along with the violence that erupted from the ensuing drug-based economy.

CHAPTER FIVE
LIFE IN THE GANG

1. Gang Affiliation

In order to understand more clearly the symbolic significance of gang membership, it is of utmost importance to comprehend or join perspectives with gang members' view points, especially as they relate to life in the gang. In the following situations, gang members reported that they gathered together because they derived from the same culture and the gang provided a sense of belonging, identity and purpose:

> *To me still it wasn't really special. I mean, even from Jamaica that's how I live. The neighbourhood, the area where I live in used to have a bunch a we same way we work, we go to dance together. I mean you touch one you got to touch the whole crew. You know that's the way it is. So it don't make you feel superior or special. It's just the way it is ... so it wasn't no big thing. It was like, yo, I am going to work everyday. Everyday me used to be on the lane. Everyday, morning, noon and night.*

> *Just hang out you know. Talk, drink juice, burn weed. Music a play, it was all enjoyment. Sometimes, we in we cook house we play domino. They count money and whatever the case is.*

> *Very respectable young people even, though they were doing what they were doing. We would not really consider it a gang. A bunch of friends trying to make a little dollars. It's people who name it a gang. It's a bunch of friends hanging just doing things together. I just like the mischief. It's adventurous, you know.*

Some gang members reported sense of kinship. In fact, one respondent stated frankly that the gang was the family he never had. Growing up in a single headed home, lacking love and attention, the gang provided him with the security and nurturing that he longed for. In fact, he was so strongly committed to the gang that he would kill or give

his life for another member:

> *Me never really had a father you know. He was never around. When me met them guys it was for real. We hung out together and shit. If we had any problems we would talk to each other. As you say support them men was always there when one of us needed something. We cared for each other we would do anything for each other. Even kill or die. This was my family. My momma never had the time for me because she had to raise me sisters.*

One gang member turned to the streets and affiliated himself with the gang because he resented the fact his mother left him in Jamaica with his grandmother. When he arrived in Canada nine years later, he arrived to find a ready made family, that is, he had a brother and a sister whom he did not know. He could not adjust to his new life and felt like he was not a part of this instant family. In fact, he felt like they were strangers to him, so he left and turned to the streets:

> *We lived the way we wanted to a bunch of we. Me brederins and I did not give a shit about anything else, but our crew. They were my family. My real family never really cared about me. My mom came to Canada and I stayed in Jamaica for nine years after that. When she sent for me I did not know her. I did not know my brothers and sisters. We never got close. They did not understand me. So I left at eighteen, four years after I came to Canada.*

Societal alienation led one respondent to seek out the gang. He left Jamaica when he was in grade ten, but when he arrived in Canada, he was assessed at the seventh grade level. He felt humiliated because he was much older than the other students, who, along with his teachers made fun of him because of his accent. He lost hope, dropped out of school and started hanging on the street corner with his friends.

> *I came here and they put me back in grade seven. I was in grade ten in Jamaica. Although we have a British system which is far better than here. They put me back three grades. I felt stupid all the youths*

were much younger than me. The stuff was too easy for me, but they still did not care. The teacher and youths used to make fun of me because of my patois. They could not understand what I was saying. I stopped going to school and started hanging with them boys.

In sum, these individuals' view of the gang provide researchers with a modicium of what the symbolic significance is for gang members. For some members, the gang is a miniature society or community, that is, members can hang out, listen to music and make money together. On the other hand, some see it as legitimate employment; in members' eyes, they are going to work on a daily basis. Most importantly, however, the gang provided a sense of family for most individuals, albeit a surrogate family. Individuals find acceptance, are valued and understood; in turn, members are loyal to each other and gain sincerity as well as a sense of belonging to something greater than themselves. Where they find expression, have a voice, and a social order uniquely their own. The gang, ultimately, gives members commonality of experience, a commodity otherwise unavailable to them.

1.1. Friendship

Gang members indicated that the gang provided a sense of family for them: we can assume that members created close bonds with one another. If that is true, gang members' friendships should be long term and permanent in nature. As researchers, we wanted to know the extent of friendship among gang members in order to further corroborate our theory, but we found their friendships to be short term and temporary in nature. In fact, gang members' friendships were as unstable as the gangs per se. Moreover, we discovered that when gangs dissolve, members were no longer in contact with one another:

I haven't spoken to my family in years. I don't want to. Even now that

I am not with the gang anymore. I still don't want to speak to them. It's not like us guys used to speak on the phone each day. We saw each other everyday and did things together. Yo we had to protect each other. We were brederin for life or so me thought. After the gang ended we each went our own way. Sometimes me see some guys and me hailed them up, but we really don't hang and talk. Maybe we really weren't that close.

One member reported that the terms of his probation agreement forbade him to be in contact with other gang members. He had to abide by the rules or he would be sent back to jail to finish the remainder of his sentence.

When I got out of jail one of my probation agreement was that I am not allowed to be with any of those guys. If not I will go back in. I wanted to hang with them guys, but what was I to do I did not want to go back in.

Another member reported that his belief that gang members shared a bond, but realized after the gang dissolved that they gradually lost contact with one another. He still feels bitter over this disappointing reality because he was willing to give his life or to take a life for a member. As he reflects on the entire situation, he reports a new understanding: members were really there to make money and nothing else. In fact, the gang life enabled him also to escape the reality of hardships in this society:

Yeah the life was great, but now we don't even speak so I guess we were never close. I guess we grew up. I can't believe how dumb I was thinking that I would kill for one of them guys and they really did not care. I mean if they did no matter what we'd still be friends now. I guess it was all about making money. I liked the life I was living it was chill everybody understood each other. We really felt like men. Now I really don't hang with anyone. I have no friends I can't trust anyone.

One member indicated that although he felt a sense of belonging and identity

within the gang, he knew that it would be short term. He was younger then and could not live the rest of his life in that manner. When he matured, he realized he had to change his life and lost contact with members. This did not bother him; he still prefers this turn of events since he wants to stay out of trouble:

> *Them days me was young and stupid. It was a fun thing, but me could not go on like that for the rest of my life. Me had to change. I am happy that we don't hang anymore. Don't get me wrong them guys are my boys, but I want to stay out of trouble. When we see each other me say what's up. But me have me own life now.*

Lacking consensus, it would appear that gang members' friendships are not the equivalent of family bonds, at least for most. For others, however, who clearly feel betrayed and abandoned by their "brederin", the loss and hurt equates to grief indicating the depth of emotion. This of course, presupposes the demise of the gang, either by mutual agreement or through pressure by external forces. Clearly, while active members of a thriving gang, members thought they were creating impermeable bonds of friendship; the literature and interviews would appear they were mistaken.

2. Co-Operation

With a view towards understanding the extent of gang members' involvement in drug sales, we first examine the reasons respondents gave for the stated purpose of the gang's inception. Responses with the greatest frequency reflect the monetary benefits of gang membership, and are consistent with the view of a neighbourhood-based group composed of friends who are there for the purpose of making money. Although there may be many motivating factors for individuals to join a gang, it is important to point out that the respondents cited monetary gain as the primary reason for the group's collective activities:

Because, you see back in them days Walkley was a gold mine. Everybody could come out, even ten guys. Everybody can make at least two-three hundred dollars a day.

Yeah! most likely as they say, crew. It's just us everyday, you know, food a cook, cases of Guiness, music a play in a summer time; that was just it. As daylight, some man there from 7 o'clock right back until 3 o'clock a morning time. It was like a job thing for some man. Some man run it 24 hours.

Yo man. It was like the family me never had. Them man were like me brothers. We used to make money together. Anything go wrong them there for me. It was like a family business.

"Making money" was cited as one of the main reasons for gang affiliation. It would appear that gang membership offered a range of collective activities for gang members, however, drug sales form the economic base for all other activities. One respondent considered selling crack cocaine a job, but the gang members interviewed were not specifically recruited to sell drugs. Gang affiliation, however, enabled members to make money in this manner, and to engage in other gang activities.

These other gang activities were of higher-order importance. In other words, the money earned through gang affiliation and resulting "jobs" selling drugs provided the economic means by which members could "express" themselves. Gang members sought their own form of association and developed a subculture through that affiliation and association. In fact, all the elements of a subculture were roughly evident. Members socialized with each other after having "worked" together in a highly inter-dependent team manner.

We were concerned with how gangs initiate and sustain drug sales, but in order to examine this we wanted to know if the gangs were formally organized, rather than loosely based groups. Formal organization would be consistent with

those who argue that gang members have distinct roles such as leadership roles, codes of conduct and rules and regulations to which they must abide (Mieczkowski, 1986; Skolnick, 1988, 1990; Taylor, 1990, 1991; Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991; Padilla, 1992). Lacking the aforementioned structure would indicate a rather more loosely organized unit that existing literature claims is the norm (Hagerdorn, 1988; Klein, Maxson and Cunningham, 1991; Fagan, 1992, Esbensen and Huizinga, 1993):

> *No no no. You see I mean when I say it was ten a we. I wouldn't say ten. I would say 8 we always there. You got your money. You buy your own product. You cook your product. You chop up your product. You sell it. It's like we never had no main man to say, yo, everybody a sell for this man; it was an individual thing. You know the Mafia thing, it's different, but we ain't got no top man everybody is the top man. What you make, it's yours. You go buy your weed from whosoever, your coke from whosoever, you cook your coke - you sell your shit.*

> *Everybody had their own piece, their own base. They were doing their own thing. At night time, everybody hung. If there was a war, everybody hung out.*

> *Naw man. Every man to his own. Yo you had your own shit and if you wanted to hire someone else to let it off, you could do that, but you had to be a part of the crew to sell in the hood. Whatever you made was yours. If your brederin had shit to let off then you could let it off for him. It was up to you. That's how it was.*

These respondents' gang did not appear to be constructed along a formal organizational model, rather, the gang itself and its economic base, drug sales, were said to be the autonomous reserve of each individual member. The above responses revealed a number of important details and a variety of insights into the role drug sales play in gang development and sustainability. Clearly, the respondents were unable to identify roles as they related to the gang's activities itself, in the first instance. Secondly, questions posed to the interviewees

regarding members' roles and inter-gang drug sales elicited responses entirely unrelated to this question. Finally, the respondents' answers to queries did reveal a distinct lack of organization, a lack of business acumen, awareness and ambition, in fact. This disorganization in the realm of drug sales implies "looseness", and is supported by the responses to questions regarding drug suppliers and the like, as will be seen:

> *We never really had any main supplier. We would buy from different people. Sometimes when we were low we would buy or borrow from each other. Basically, we got our own shit.*
>
> *Everybody got their own shit. From different people.*
>
> *Everybody bought their own product. Particular people.*
>
> *We would buy from anyone who had what we needed. We each but our product and sold it. No one gave me shit to sell. I was working for my self. I sold with them guys in the area because I was a part of the crew.*

It can be clearly seen that there existed a remarkably low level of organization, leadership and hierarchy within the Walkley Crew, Bronx Massive and the Grand Massive. There appeared to be no true leader, nor any other specific hierarchical designation. In such a situation, lacking progressive management, it would be difficult to co-ordinate an economic base, such as drug sales, effectively (Klein et al., 1991; Decker and Van Winkle, 1994) Moreover, it is evident from elicited responses that this disorganization extended all the way to the lack of a drug supplier in common which would have served to maximize profits, minimize danger and ensure constant supply.

One Uptown Crew member indicated that there were different roles in selling drugs, however, these roles did not require any formal training. This demonstrates a lack of business sense and planning for members in drug sales, and is indicative of the gang's casual nature towards drug dealing. It seems that the Uptown Crew had a leader and a manager, but when probed about how the manager gained his position, the respondent gave an answer that did not refer to the question asked. Further, when asked about drug supplies, the same respondent maintained that he and two other gang members supplied the gang.

> (WAS THERE A LEADER?)*Only one.* (WHAT WAS HIS ROLE?) *To supply the Crew, and to be there. Them man they just love me. They trust me. Sometimes I would have 60 grand hidden.*(WHO SUPPLIED THE CREW?) *Sometimes me, sometimes the Dread, sometimes another brederin. Connections right in the area.*

In sum, it is appropriate to clarify the main points regarding co-operation within the gang. There can be little doubt that the members co-operated to protect one another. Notwithstanding these self-protective ploys, the very inconsistency reveals more of the truth. For example, the evasive answer to the query regarding the manager's role and how he was chosen can be interpreted to mean that the Uptown Crew gang member was the manager, though this was not explicitly stated. Similarly, the implication that the role of the leader was somewhat more than originally claimed can be determined by the respondent's reply to the leadership role question. He, in fact, admitted that the leader procured the drug supply, though gang members had autonomy in the realm of drug quantity they could sell and preparation of said drug for street drug sale as well as pricing.

Perhaps the gang was as loosely organized as reported, nevertheless, some level of entrepreneurial gang structure must have existed within the Uptown Crew. It can be said then, the answers were designed to evade, but in reality

were more revealing than intended. A manager admits he filled that role, in so much as he brags about his likability and his trust level with other members, as well as the leader. It can be surmised, due to the fact that he had large cash amounts in his care, his role as a manager, is evidential.

2.1. Profits from drug sales

An important aspect of any organized business is what happens to the profits from sales. Assuming the gangs are organized and control drug sales effectively, it must be speculated that a portion of the profits from the drug trade would be reinvested in the gang. The profits could be used to purchase more drugs, improve distribution and set up a proper network to stabilize distribution, including houses and cars from which to work. Further, profits can be used for legitimate fronts to divert attention from their illegal activities and to launder money:

> *It's your profits. The only way unless, okay you come to me and say, okay, me have seven hundred dollars you have seven hundred dollars. I say, okay, instead of me buy a half ounce and you a half once. We buy an ounce. Cook the ounce. We chop everything up and if you make 50 or 500 piece, you could make a 1000 piece - 500/ 500 understand? You sell your thing I sell my thing. Then you have some liccle man who come who want to make some money. Then you can say, okay, here this is a 20 piece, 15 for me and 5 for yourself. Just like that.*

> *I was like the manager. I spent my bank on girls, party, shoes and clothes. I could get any gal I wanted, gals in school and all. 'Cause we had bank and them gals like that. I spent my money foolishly though. Looking back now, I spent money on gals who chat we me only because I was in the crew and I had dollars. You would not believe the amount of gals I had.*
> *What I make is mines. I pay the rent for the base so me don't*

have to give me money to nobody. Only if me got them man them who a work for me. Me have fe pay them. Yo man we could a had a house but we were not thinking like that. It was coming in too fast, and as we got it we spent it.

Bought me clothes and went to parties and shit. I bought my dogs with me money. It's not like we would have to put in money for the crew to buy dogs and supplies and shit. If we need a dog, each man would get his own.

None of the respondents indicated that a fraction of the profits from drug sales was reinvested in the gang. In fact, the profits were used for more expressive purposes such as clothes, parties and girls (Decker and Van Winkle, 1994; Fagan, 1992). This clearly demonstrates the disorganized nature of the gang, since the profits were not reinvested for commodities such as firearms, cars and houses that would be needed by the gang if indeed it were based on an entrepreneurial model with ambition to expand, increase power and maximize wealth.

2.1.1. Customers

We wanted to know if the gang's drug distribution was restricted to the territory occupied by the gang. Although most of the Walkley Crew's customers were from the area, gang members reported that they would give credit to their customers who sometimes failed to repay their debts:

Most of me custees was from the area, but then again you see alot of them used to credit. So, the first of the month you look for them and you go get your money. (DID YOU GET RIPPED OFF?) *Alot, but what you gonna do? But then you have to know you can't make a man owe you more than a hundred dollars. So you have to set limits. A lot of time all of them would come with 15 or 18 dollars, whatever the case is. It depends who it is, you make them slide. It depends how they spend their money, you let them slide.*

Most of them from the area. We sell to people in the area except for that 5.0. who fucked our shit up, but that was our mistake we were not paying attention when we started making money - we got greedy. We went downhill from the time we sold to the narc.

On the other hand, the Bronx Massive and Grand Massive respondents indicated that they had tight control over their customers and never credited. In fact, if a customer tried to rob them, the customer would have to deal with severe repercussions:

Whatcha mean, never them man know them stiff we. Them have fe deal with we. Them man don't wanna get dead me never play with me dollars. Me no pussyhole. I don't know what they all do. All I know is they give me the money. A lot of them were from the area. A lot of them you know were like people on welfare with their kids and shit.

We never gave shit away because if you credit that is what you do. If you had no money then you better not come and see me and beg. I don't feel sorry for them. We provided a service and they had to pay for it. I cannot go see a dentist and ask him to pay later. It does not work that way in life. No money no candy.

Once again the responses elicited by the questions regarding customers indicate that drug sales in the main, were restricted to neighbourhood residents. Additionally, the fact that gang members generated most of their of income at the end of each month indicates that most of their customers derived from the lower level of the social strata and were beneficiaries of social aid. Furthermore, credit allotted to customers resulted in lost capital for gang members of the Walkley Crew, however, despite their losses, gang members would still credit crack cocaine. The lack of effective drug organization of gang members is evident in their inability to establish a broader drug distribution, one that extended beyond the boundaries of the immediate neighbourhood.

One Uptown Crew respondent claimed that the gang's drug organization was not restricted to one territorial area, but that they also sold crack cocaine to affluent outsiders, and thus were not geographically limited:

> *For sure, all over South Shore, all over the place. Business people, lawyers, people who work in companies, sophisticated people, ordinary people, bank executive, highly society people who you would not suspect to be in those places. We used to have a doctor man, the dentist dangerous.*

Customers, therefore, range from local and known to distant and known, perhaps also distant and introduced or transient. Clearly, one fact emerges; the gangs, per se, do not recruit or control customers' purchases or members sales, at least, not at the retail level. Furthermore, there exists little information that might generate a universal theme for all Jamaican Montreal gangs' clientele. While one crew reports selling drugs almost exclusively locally, another crew reports broad distribution and a varied customer base.

Most importantly, however, emerges a gang profile that defies pigeon-holing. This suggests a degree of spontaneity and, therefore, loose gang structuring. It is reasonable, as a result, to suggest that these crews responded to demand for a product; they did not and do not create a market. Moreover, supplying that demand on an ad hoc basis reinforces our findings that the gangs interviewed existed simply to make money, with no particular affinity to product other than that which would sell best to return the greatest benefits: profits.

CHAPTER SIX
GANG VIOLENCE

1. Gang Violence

We asked Jamaican Montreal gang members when they used violence. Generally, they indicated that violence used by the gang was "self- defense", that is, employed in response to threats made by rival gang members. Walkley Crew gang members indicated that violence ensued when rival gangs instigated turf wars:

> *Basically, self defense, 'cause we don't go out there and bother nobody. Yo, we have dance and it's pure niceness. You know we gonna fool one gal pickny. Come them time there a lot of dance used to keep up at Westhill school - calypso dance a fe we neighbourhood dance. I mean people bring wars to us; we never really go out there initiate war. People just no like we, for whatever reason.*

One respondent indicated that violence was a regular activity for the Uptown Crew, particularly for him. He seemed to have enjoyed initiating violence because he felt empowered by a gun; acknowledging a respect that would be his since he was a force to be feared:

> *Every week. You remember, we were crazy. Every week, not only them most of the time, me. The madness. When someone test me, disrespect me. We use violence.*

One Grand Massive member reported that when the gang felt threatened, their response was a show of force; violence was the tool by which the gang's members would be respected:

> *When them man disrespect us we had to show them that we no pussyhole, so we defend it. Them knew not to fuck with we. A we*

the Grand Massive man them rule the NDG area in them times. If anyone disrespect we settle the matter violently. That's how uno learn. Nuff respect.

Another gang member maintained that selling crack cocaine was a lucrative, but dangerous, market. In particular, the Bronx Massive members were dealing with crack addicts, prostitutes and the potential, relentless threat of robbery. According to the respondent, violence is expected in the narcotics trade and was a daily possibility in the course of maintaining neighbourhood order:

We were selling rocks of course we had to get rough with people, but that's the name of the game. We dealt with crackheads you know how fuck up these people are they will try to rob you. When our gates got robbed twice we had to use violence to settle the matter. We had to protect our shit. That's how it is. You have a good thing going people see you makin' some dollars them want to come and take it away. Naw man you have fe defend what's yours. People come and trouble us we no do them nothin. We send them man a message if you trouble us it you dead.

Undoubtedly, violence is seen as an acceptable method of dealing with unusual events, however, the respondents did not all agree with its appropriateness. Certainly, most. members denied instigating violent acts, yet admitted violence was a viable option in response to a set of unique circumstances. Viewed objectively, this can be understood: gangs operating in the illegal drug trade face a variety of threats to their activities and their persons.

Members recognize both real and potential risks and obstacles to making and reaping business profits. As a group operating outside the legitimate economy, gangs are forced to establish a mini-community service program. That is gang members must be their own police force and court system to ensure that gang's viability.

Violence then becomes just another aspect of doing business, a necessary element to continued order, but a last resort. Additionally, the vast majority of our interviewees insisted that violent episodes for them were self-protective in nature, emphasizing that gratuitous violence was not part of their mandate.

From innumerable researchers we must draw the conclusion that violence is inherent in gang life. Whether this violence is externally directed or internally exercised by gangs against other gangs or between members of a given gang, violence is a hallmark of gangs. Add drug sales to the mix and violence escalates according to the predominance of drug sales as a raison d'être. Additionally, as noted by many researchers, violence that is gang related differs significantly from non-gang violence; it has an unmistakably singular profile, easily distinguished from any other.

1.1. Intergang conflict

In a question posed by the interviewer regarding the gangs' networking efforts, a Walkley Crew member proceeded to report about the crew's rivalry with the Grand Massive. They had not experienced rivalry with other gangs, but the Grand Massive was the exception:

> *Them man from Uptown would come chill on the lane with us. If they needed some drugs we would hook them up. We had no problems with them, but with the Grand now it's different. For some reason the Grand people never like we. So then it became a war between we and the Grand man them* (HOW DID THE WAR START?) *How the war really started was like they went to the gas station. One of me brother went to the gas station with some boy. Some disrespect thing go on with the boy who pump the gas. He went to talk to them people there and them people think they so bad. So, they come and try defend it and come shot a man pond [on] the street. So that where the thing started... The whole a we standing up and him*

just walk out of his car with him gun and drape the man and shot him up. So, when the man leave go, him get shot too.

Another Walkley Crew respondent reported an incident that took place at a party where an innocent bystander lost her life. He reflects on the whole situation and concludes that it was ridiculous:

Down at the dance on old Orchard. Yeah! was the same Walkley and Grand buck up. Couple of innocent people get dead still. When you really sit and look back, it never really make no sense. You see, I don't know with Jamaicans, they just try to prove themselves against each other.

We asked gang members about their conflicts with other gangs. Typically, gang members claimed that it was other gangs' members who waged war against them. We asked a member of the Uptown Crew if the gang had experienced any settling of accounts. He reported that the settling of accounts was due to greed and envy among members of the gang:

Three a them a get killed. They all three brothers. I guess something say everybody settle something. They were killed because they had too much money. They were jealous. People was requesting too much things, but could not get it.

When we elicited an answer about the killings of opposing gang members, one Walkley Crew member claimed that the Grand Massive was responsible for the murder of "Duck", one of the Walkley Crew's members. The respondent recants the events that led up to the death of Duck:

One get dead. He went on Queen Mary to buy a pair of Clark's. The guys them from Grand, they were tailing him because he was the lucky guy on the lane. When I say lucky,

he is lucky to make money. So he was a type a guy who like to show off. You look at his fingers, he got three rings on every finger. He change all three times for the day, so, alot of people they don't like him 'cause they say him a show off. I was inside when he get killed.(SO WHY WAS DUCK KILLED?) *I'm not really sure; it was a long time though. They [Grand Massive] always never like him because after, we all get busted. He did not get busted. So, he was the only one on the lane. So he was making a killing. All I know, he went to buy the shoes that day. So as soon as he was leaving, he stepped out of the store . They was outside waiting for him. So they shot the man dead. That was his time; his time came.*

When a member of the Grand Massive was probed about the rivalry between the Grand, Walkley and Bronx Massive crews, as well as the death of a Walkley Crew member, he became angry and ended the interview. He responded in this manner:

Me naw answer that. We never like them guys. Them man a pussy whole, alright. Them man try a punk off me brederin at the gas station and that's all me have fe say. Me no answer no more questions, alright. If one of them get dust there must have been a good reason for that.

It is unclear what the precise reason was for the slaying of "Duck"; the Walkley Crew respondent himself seemed unsure about why the killing took place. Thus, when we prompted a Grand Massive member to confirm that a war was indeed waged against the Walkley Crew, he chose to evade the question and ended the interview. However, close scrutiny of the Walkley Crew member's response leads to two different potential explanations. One possibility is rather trivial and involves a simple matter of jealousy, envy of Duck's apparent success, prosperity and luck. On the other hand, the respondent implied a more insidious possibility - it will be noted that Duck " did not get busted." Was this seen as a matter of good fortune for the Grand Massive? Perhaps this was the perfect opportunity for them to gain control of the Walkley Crew's lucrative

territory. It is pure speculation, but in view of the suggestive nature of the above response, must be postulated.

Although the Grand Massive member refused to report any conflict that resulted in the loss of a life with any of their rivals, one Bronx Massive member claims that it was the Grand Massive that were involved in the slaying of their own:

> *This is how it happened me brederin who him brother was a man on Walkley was part of the Bronx Massive. Him get dust in the Bronx from them pussyhole Grand man them. Them man love friction them came down to the Bronx and starting causing trouble. That's how me brederin dead.*

In sum, it seems like the Walkley Crew and Bronx Massive had one major rivalry: the Grand Massive. According to respondents, members from the Grand Massive actively sought occasions to terrorize their gangs. The individual who allegedly committed these slayings was a member of the Walkley Crew until another member humiliated him at a dance because he was sexually involved with a member's girlfriend. From that day, this apparently ruthless individual, would use a gun to settle conflicts with others. Most members admitted to using violence to defend themselves because it was easily justified, however, none admitted to being instigators of violence. In the shady realm of illicit activities, violence is taken for granted. The seductive mix of drugs and money in the context of the underground presupposes a degree of violence will be a fact of everyday life.

1.1.1. Retaliation

Some gang members alleged they used violence to settle scores with a specific person or group. Thus, some subjects gave vague, general answers when the researcher probed further into retaliatory violence:

> *Some people get dealt with and some people did not. Some were killed.*

Given the above Uptown Crew member's generalized response to how the gang retaliated, we elicited a response from a Walkley Crew member regarding a potential plan to avenge Duck's death:

> *What I hear is this. They were planning on retaliating. They were all ready to retaliate, but they were all waiting on his brother to say, yo, he is my brother and he get dead. If he don't say, yo, come let's go and defend it, nobody is gonna move. But, if he say let's go defend it, everybody is gonna go. So it was like that.*

The Walkley Crew members were waiting for Duck's brother to give them the "go ahead" to avenge his death. Clearly, if this crew were formally organized, they would not wait for a relative, a non-crew member, to seek to avenge his brother's death, something he never did. They would have taken it upon themselves to settle the matter.

It can be concluded from such inaction that no code was in place to automatically respond to given acts, further evidence of the loosely organized model upon which this gang is based.

1.2. Intragang Conflict

Understanding intragang conflict enables us to view the violence that sometimes occurs within the gang, employed between members to maintain a certain modicium of regulation within the gang itself. One respondent explained to the interviewer why a gang member from the Walkley Crew joined their rival, the Grand Massive:

> *Even the trigger man from Grand, he was originally from Walkley. It so happened that him and my brother got into it over some woman thing. He was fucking me brother baby mother. Me brother seen him in one dance, and drape him up and butt him up. So, it happened that me brother in a the kitchen to get some food. The next liccle man that him butt up walk in and shot him two times. Even that, it never really bothered me because to me it was all stupid. If you see me in a dance and you come and drape me up in front of everybody and butt me up, it's my pride. It doesn't matter who you are. I got to defend it ... So, that's when he shot my brother, that is when he started to hang with the guys them from Grand.*

Another Walkley Crew Respondent claimed that a member was shot by another member of the gang because he had loaned him a gun and it was never returned. The individual chose not to retaliate because he knew he was in the wrong, he should have returned the gun:

> *This man get shot from the crew because him borrow another man dog and did not return it. The man who got shot knew that him should have never done that. How could have lost that man dog. If let's say someone else used that man dog in a shooting. That man could be locked up for something him naw do. The man was mad since him no know who had his gun now.*

One Bronx Massive member claimed that they never experienced any major conflicts among their members. He maintains that when significant numbers of

men who derive from the Jamaican culture are together, conflict would thrive, but it was always under control:

> *We never had much friction between us. Of course we cuss each other, but that's normal a bunch of Jamaicans chillin' that's gonna happen though. We'd argue, but we always have each others back. Not like them Grand men them. Them Crazy. They killed off their own crew. Them man was stupid man in the crew shooting each other. Look what happened a couple years back a Grand man kill him brederin in a de restaurant.*

When one Uptown Crew member was asked if the crew had rivalries with other gangs, he responded that the Uptown Crew contended with conflict within its own organization:

> *We were not at war with the Walkley Crew. We had war with our own men with the Uptown Crew.*

The Uptown Crew was plagued with more deaths than any other Jamaican Crew. From the first death of a Gordon brother, every subsequent three years another brother from the Gordon family had died. To date, three brothers have been brutally murdered; the fourth brother has been incarcerated, and is now mentally unstable.

What plagued the Uptown Crew is a question many English Black community members would like answered. Many contend that the Crew's self destruction was due to one of the brother's slaying of a Haitian individual in a Montreal club in the 80's. It seems the Haitian's family had cursed the Gordon family with Voodoo. Whether this is a myth or not, one thing is certain: members of the Uptown Crew have had several rounds of bad luck. Members fought against each other as a result of greed and envy; they wanted what the Gordon family had - riches.

CONCLUSION

This Research uncovered, among other little-known facts regarding Montreal Jamaican gangs, a degree of custom and order here that, while we may not hold it up as an optimum model, suits the members of the gangs and serves to anchor them to their roots. We believe we have accomplished our goals in this respect, arriving at both valid in-depth descriptions of Jamaican Montreal gangs as well as an understanding of their raison d'être. We found Jamaican Montreal gangs to be loosely organized, based on cultural and social tradition, and highly supseptible to the lure of the underground economy. Some variations emerged in the four gangs studied, however, significant similarities were more often noted than significant differences. These similarities were most frequently evident in the symbolic significance of Jamaican Montreal gangs' analysis.

Our findings suggest that Jamaican Montreal gang life provided a sense of family for members, supporting the findings of other studies. Many researchers have indicated that gang members often report that they receive a strong "family feeling" with gang membership (eg. Keiser, 1969), wherein the gang provides an extended family frequently more intense than nuclear family membership. Members report a degree of support unavailable outside their gang life, providing them with a sense of belonging to a "society", having an identity and a purpose in life.

Gang members repeatedly report social isolation from legitimate economic opportunities and social interaction within society. Defiance, as their response surfaces in such a way that viable social controls have little influence on them. In fact, the absence of conventional values enable gangs to flourish while creating their own social system. This is not surprising given that members are not closely affiliated with their natural families and give no legitimacy to conventional values. In support of this summary, researchers such as Thornberrry (1987) have maintained that individuals who are weakly

attached to their parents and to society are more likely to be susceptible to delinquency.

Gang members consistently report a lack of significant parental supervision, most frequently reporting that they came from a matrilineal family. Many have never met their fathers, while some knew their fathers but did not have much contact with them. Researchers have long claimed that the lack of parental supervision is a great predictor of delinquency (Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Hirschi, 1969; West and Farrington, 1977; Riley and Shaw, 1985). With a lack of attention from their mothers, Black children are often reared by members of their communities, thus extending their family structure beyond that of the nuclear family, but relinquishing the bonds of loyalty towards family as a consequence.

Feeling isolated from mainstream society, Jamaican gang members create their own subculture, one that provides support and comfort for individual needs, a subculture that values and understands them. Gangs provide activities with which members can bond as men; they play dominoes, smoke marijuana, drink beer, hang out and party together. In a sense, the gang life gives them purpose, restores members' pride in their masculinity where rules and regulations are not dictated by society, but by themselves. Decisions are not made for them, but by them.

This gang sense of family is greater than any they have known where finally, others share the dilemmas they face. They experience a sense of brotherhood, a connection which many have not experienced before. In fact, they consider each other as blood brothers, with a sense of security and love flows through their collective veins. Most importantly, members reported in interview that they derived a respect that mainstream society refuses to make possible for them.

Despite the sense of family that gang members experience, their friendships

proved to be as short-lived as the gangs. In fact, once dissolutions occurred, members were no longer in contact with one another, be it the law that prevented them continuing their friendship or a personal decision. Members' friendships seem destined to follow a pattern of pursuing gang activities, but when that thread is fractured, the true impermanence of their relationships becomes evident.

Four issues regarding the roles Jamaican gangs played in drug sales in Montreal were examined: 1) gang; affiliation 2) co-operation; 3) profits from drug sales; and 4) customers. Our results suggest that Jamaican gang members in Montreal joined their respective gangs for expressive reasons, reflecting the group process of neighbourhood friendships. The level of organization among the Walkley Crew, Uptown Crew, Bronx Massive and Grand Massive appears to be consistent with those researchers who argue that gang involvement in drug sales is loosely structured and informal in nature (Decker and Van Winkle, 1994; Esbensen Huizinga, 1993; Fagan, 1989; Hagedorn, 1988; Klein et al., 1991).

The central theme that radiates from these findings points to the group process experienced by gang membership and the affiliations that are deeply embedded within the gang. The Walkley Crew, Uptown Crew, Bronx Massive and Grand Massive gang members were loose associations of men whose membership offered a range of activities. Drug sales provided necessary money for these higher value activities which led members to bond outside the work zone. Cultural events, therefore, were enhanced due to the free flow of money derived from gang ventures, mostly drug sales.

Thus, the four Jamaican gangs' drug organizations were short lived, a result of satisfying their need for immediate gratification by way of parties , clothing or women. Consistent with Klein et al. (1991), who suggest that gang members are unable to share

the collective goals and activities necessary for a business organization, we found that the Jamaican drug organizations lacked the effective organizational structure characteristic of an enterprise. Furthermore, we discovered no evidence to support the findings that gangs follow an entrepreneurial organizational model with leadership, rules and regulations, codes of conduct, distinctive roles and specific duties (Mieckowski, 1986; Padilla, 1992; Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991; Skolnick, 1990; Taylor, 1990,1991).

This study's probe into profits reveals the short-view reality of these gangs' mandate. No business overview or plan dictated the direction or goals of these gangs, rather all evidence points to loose affiliation, casual co-operation, a minimum concern with gang security and maximum interest in individual gain. Longevity and sustainability were never reported by interviewers as topics of discussion or concern between gang members. Profits received from drug sales remain consistent with the view of Fagan (1992), who indicated that monetary gains from drug sales are used for short-term needs such as food, clothing, and women.

These profits form the base of gang members' economy; by extension, the money gained becomes integral to a sector of the Jamaican Montreal community, at times more successfully than others, judging from interview reports. While some gang members were adamant that their client base, for example, derived from a city-wide source, others indicated that their friends and neighbours were their customers. Clearly in the latter case, little thought is given to collateral fallout from the drug trade, but this study has already indicated what the reader should expect to find. From the Christening reception example to the description of dance hall parties, it is obvious the members of the four gangs under review care little or naught about the effects of criminal activities on their families or their private lives.

On the whole, it is difficult to imagine that gang members hold violence in great

regard. Our research indicates otherwise insomuch as violence, whether inter or intra-gang, is personal and separate from the gang's mission which really reduces to surviving in an isolationist environment with some semblance of dignity. The means by which this The means by which this is accomplished is secondary.

Our analysis of gang violence suggests that threat, real or perceived, accounted for the escalation of gang violence among Jamaican gang members in Montreal. This perception of threat served as an catalyst to unite gang members against their rivals, increasing cohesion among members (Decker, 1996; Klein, 1991; Padilla, 1992; Vigil, 1988).

Walkley Crew members reported they often had violent encounters in public settings with their rival, the Grand Massive. In fact, the rivalry had claimed the lives of an innocent bystander and a gang member. Still, gang members insist they are reactionary, not incendiary. That is, they reject the label of "violent gang" and espouse the cumulated notion of friendship and/or collaboration for higher-value reasons. This suggests that Jamaican Montreal gangs see themselves as friends coming together to gain necessary money for expressive purposes, in the main. Secondarily, violence becomes an inescapable reality of underground life to deal with, but not to instigate.

A degree of self-regulation, a pecking order of sorts, emerged from our questions related to intra-gang violence, but a more disturbing element is also revealed. Ostensibly, a great deal of energy is expended on self-regulatory activity, thus diverting the gang's attention from perhaps more constructive activities. Clearly, a more formal organization would avoid non-productive or gratuitous violence in favour of efficiency directed at communal group endeavours. This, however, does not seem to hold for Jamaican Montreal gangs and further supports the notion of loose gang organization.

In addition, such behaviour and lack of attention to "team" activities is further proof of the ad hoc nature of Montreal Jamaican gangs. Yes, they congregate as a result of shared heritage; yes, they co-operate in ventures for all whom will benefit; no, gang members, for the most part, do not seek a violent outlet for their aggression though members exhibit cohesiveness for mutual protection. Furthermore, evidence of intra-gang conflict appears not only to be minimal, but is directly associated with individual transgressions and cannot be linked convincingly with gang activity.

Aggression that does surface in an intra-gang context is likely to be personal, transient and unimportant to the gang's stated mission. Consequently, this present study reveals an over-abundance of concern and animosity totally unrelated to what we might expect were the gang structure and functioning modelled on a professional business structure. The fact that we do not find this further reinforces the notion that Jamaican Montreal gangs are comprised of like-minded, like-situationed individuals who are intent on maximizing the little power they possess alone, combining that with the support of similars and employing whatever means are available to them to survive and thrive.

As with every study, the researcher must come to terms with the limitations that the Master's thesis poses in order to be aware of the biases that can occur during the collection and analysis of data. The limitation of "manufactured distance" was taken into consideration. Since the researcher was conducting a study within her own cultural milieu and the respondents are known to her, the researcher may not be critical enough of that which is under study, however, validity and relevance were carefully sought.

Similarly, the researcher might have had preconceived views of the gang phenomenon which could have limited her discovery of new realities that may in turn have led to further inquiry. Despite the possibility of encountering such drawbacks, the

researcher did her best to detach herself from any preconceived assumptions that she may have held concerning the respondents' world.

The study may have suffered limitations as a result of the language used by the researcher. The researcher was particularly careful to choose the cultural vernacular so that respondents did not feel inferior to her; the researcher used common Black colloquial vocabulary so that the discourse was respectful.

Finally, the small sample size did not allow the researcher to generalize about the gang phenomenon in Montreal. To this end, the researcher is careful not to infer that the data are representative of the gang phenomenon in Montreal. Rather, the study provides a descriptive portrait of the subculture under analysis.

APPENDIX A

SLANG PHRASES, WORDS AND THEIR MEANINGS

CHAPTER THREE: Cultural Understandings of Crime and Gang Involvement

1. Kinship and Family Structure

(1) *He does not look for his picknies:* He does not take care of his children.

1.1. Gender Specific Roles: The Jamaican Christening Party

(1) ***Blunts:*** A cigar that is emptied and filled with marijuana.

1.2. Baby Mothers

(1) ***Baby Mothers:*** Refers to a woman as having a child from a certain individual.

(2) ***Bonified Woman:*** The individual's main girlfriend.

2.1. Informal associations

(1) ***Dance hall parties*:** A hall where individuals go to dance and only reggae music is played.

(2) ***Dance hall queen:*** A woman who attends dance hall parties on a regular basis and who holds the title of best dancer.

(3) ***A sound:*** A group of disk jockeys at a dance hall party.

(4) ***Sound Clash:*** Competition among many disk jockeys from across Canada, the United States and Jamaica.

2.1.1. Flash and Demeanour

(1)**Frock:** Clothing worn at a dance hall party.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Social Embeddedness of Crack Distribution

1.2. Notre Dame de Grâce

(1) ***Them times:*** In those days.

(2) ***The rock thing never so established:*** The crack cocaine market had not yet been established.

(3) ***Weed***: Marijuana.

(4) ***Someone who dealt with that:*** He would go see a gang member who sold crack cocaine.

(5) ***Wannabe:*** Someone who wants to be, and acts as though he is, a part of the gang.

(6) ***Bases:*** Apartments where drugs are sold.

(7) ***I have my shit in the back:*** I have my crack cocaine in the back.

(8) ***Custees:*** Customers.

(9) ***Crackheads:*** Individuals who are addicted to crack cocaine.

(10) ***Rocks:*** Crack cocaine.

(11) ***I had a nice ride:*** I had a nice car.

(12) ***Asked him for some product:*** Asked him for crack cocaine.

(13) ***We run things in NDG:*** We controlled the drug market in the Notre Dame de Grace district.

(14) ***Base:*** Apartment where drugs are sold.

(15) ***Crackheads:*** Individuals who are addicted to crack cocaine.

(16) ***A we rule NDG:*** We had complete territorial control of the Notre Dame de Grace district.

(17) ***Man used to work selling the shit to make a living:*** Gang members used to sell crack cocaine in order to make a living.

(18) ***Some members get dead:*** Some members were killed.

(19) ***We had bank:*** We had a lot of money.

(20) ***Frock:*** Clothing worn at a dance hall party.

(21) ***Dance hall:*** A hall where individuals go to dance and only reggae music is played.

(22) ***It just got to our head:*** We became obnoxious

1.3. Côte-des-Neiges

(1) ***After the dread dead:*** After a dreadlock gang member was killed.

(2) ***So everybody scatters:*** Gang members each went their own way.

(3) ***Friendship came to war:*** Friends became enemies.

(4) ***Base:*** Apartment where drugs were sold.

1.4. Cartierville

(1) ***The Bronx guys who was selling it:*** Gang members from the Bronx Massive who were selling crack cocaine.

(2) ***In them days, we made a lot of money selling rocks:*** In those days, we made a lot of money selling crack cocaine.

(3) ***The Bronx:*** The Cartierville district.

(4) ***A we rule the Bronx area them time there*:** In those days, we had territorial control of the Cartierville district.

(5) ***No one could sell pond we hood, if not them dead*:** No one was allowed to sell drugs in our territory or else they would be killed.

(6) ***Some get bite:*** Some gang members were arrested.

(7) ***Man get greedy:*** Some gang members were getting greedy.

CHAPTER FIVE: Life in The Gang

1. Gang Affiliation

(1) ***Used to be a bunch a we:*** There used to be a group of us.

(2) ***Sometimes we in we cook house:*** Sometimes we cook food in the apartment.

(3) ***A bunch of we:*** A group of us.

(4) ***Brederin:*** A good friend.

(5) ***Patois:*** Jamaican dialect.

(6) ***Hail them up:*** To say hi.

2. Co-Operation

(1) ***Back in them days:*** Back in those days.

(2) ***It was ten a we:*** There were ten of us.

(3) ***You product:*** Your crack cocaine.

(4) ***Had their own piece:*** Had their own crack.

(5) ***Hire someone to let it off:*** To hire someone to sell crack cocaine.

(6) ***Brederin:*** A good friend.

(7) ***Everybody bought their own product:*** Everyone bought their own drugs.

(8) ***Liccle man:*** A little man.

(9) ***I spent my bank:*** I spent my money.

(10) ***Who chat we me:*** Who talked to me.

(11) ***Me have fe pay them:*** I have to pay them.

(12) ***I bought my dogs:*** I bought my guns.

2.1. Customers

(1) ***Most of me custees:*** Most of my customers.

(2) ***Five o:*** Police.

(3) ***Stiff we:*** Rob us.

(4) ***Them have fe deal with we:*** They have to deal with us.

(5) ***Me no pussyhole:*** I am not a punk.

CHAPTER SIX: Gang Violence

1. The Use of Gang Violence

(1) ***Yo, we have a dance and it's pure niceness:*** We have a dance and it is nice.

(2) ***You know we gonna fool one gal pickny:*** We tell the girls what they want to hear.

(3) ***That's how uno learn:*** That is how you learn.

(4) ***Nuff respect:*** It is all about respect.

(5) ***We dealt with crackheads:*** We dealt with individuals who were addicted to crack cocaine.

(6) ***Naw man you have fe defend what's yours:*** No man, you have to defend what is yours.

1.1. Intergang Conflict

(1) ***So, they came and try to defend it and come shot a man pond the street:*** So, they came and tried to defend it and shot a member on our street.

(2) ***The whole of we standing up:*** We were all standing up.

(3) ***Drape the man and shot him up:*** He grabbed a crew member by the collar and shot him.

(4) ***Yeah! was the same Walkley and Grand that buck up:*** It was the Walkley Crew and Grand Massive that had a face-off.

(5) ***Me naw answer that:*** I am not going to answer that.

(6) ***Them man a try to punk off me brederin at the gas station that's all me have fe say:*** Those guys tried to disrespect my friend at the gas station that is all that I have to say.

(7) ***If one of them get dust there must have been a good reason for that:*** If one of them got killed there must have been a good reason for that.

(8) ***Him get dust in the Bronx from them pussyhole Grand man them:*** He was killed in Cartierville by the Grand Massive punks.

1.2. Intragang Conflict

(1) ***Drape him up and butt him up:*** Grabbed him by the collar and hit him with the handle of the gun.

(2) ***Him borrow another man dog:*** He borrowed another crew members' gun.

(3) ***Of course we cuss each other:*** Of course we would curse at each other.

REFERENCES

Bailey, W. G. (1994). Gang Homicides in California: A Discriminant Analysis. Journal of Criminal Justice, 22, 267-275.

Ball, R. A., Curry, G. D. (1995). The Logic of Definition in Criminology: Purpose and Methods for Defining Gang. Criminology, 33, 225-245.

Bernard, J. T.(1990). Angry Aggression Among The Truly Disadvantaged. Criminology, 28, 73-96.

Biernecki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). A Snowball Sampling. Sociological Methods and Research,10,141-163.

Black, D. (1983). Crime as Social Control. American Sociological Review, 48, 34-45.

Block, R., & Block, C. (1993). Street Gang Crime in Chicago. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

Blondin, P. (1993). Violence et Déviance a Montréal. Montreal: Liber.

Bookin-Weiner, H. & Howoritz, R. (1983). The End of The Gang: Fact or Fad. Criminology, 21, 585-602.

Canadian Department of Manpower and Immigration.(1976). Immigration Statistics 1967-1975. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canadian Department of Manpower and Immigration.(1978).Immigration Statistics 1967-1977. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Caroll, J., & Weaver, F. (1986). Shoplifters' Perceptions of Crime Opportunities: A Process-Tracing Study. In ,(eds.) D. B. Cornish and R.V. Clarke. The Reasoning Criminal: Rational Choice Perspectives on Offending (pp. 19-38), New York: Springer.

Cloward, R. A.& Ohlin, L.E. (1960). Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs. New York: Free Press.

Cohen, A. (1955). Delinquent Boys: The Culture of The Gang. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Cohen, A. (1990). Foreword and Overview. In (ed.), R. Huff. Gangs in America (pp.7-21), Newbury, CA: Sage.

Corbet, D. C. (1957). Canada's Immigration Policy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Covey, H., Menard, Scott and Franzese, Robert. (1992). Juvenile Gangs. Springfield, Ill.:Free Press.

Curry, G. D., & Spergel, I. A. (1988). Gang Homicide, Delinquency, and Community. Criminology 26, 381-405.

Curry, G. D., & Spergel, I. A. (1992). Gang Involvement and Delinquency Among Hispanic and African-American Adolescent Males. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 29, 273-291.

Decker, S, & Van Winkle, B. (1994). Slinging Dope: The Role of Gangs and Gang Members in Drug Sales. Justice Quarterly, 11, 583-604.

Decker, S. (1996). Collective and Normative Features of Gang Violence. Justice Quarterly, 13, 243-264.

Decker, S., & Van Winkle, B. (1996). Life in The Gang : Family, Friends, and Violence. NewYork: Cambridge University Press.

Dunlap, E., Johnson, B. D., Hopkins, W., Sobel, I., Randolph, D., Quinones, E., & Chin, K. (1990). Studying Crack Users and Their Criminal Careers: The Scientific and Artistic Aspects of Locating Hard-to-Reach Subjects and Interviewing Them about Sensitive Topics. Contemporary Drug Problems, 17, 121-144.

Esbensen, F.-A., & Huizinga, D. (1993). Gangs, Drugs, and Delinquency in a Survey of Urban Youth. Criminology, 31, 565-587.

Fagan, J. (1989). The Social Organization of Drug Use and Drug Dealing Among Urban Gangs. Criminology, 27, 633-665.

Fagan, J. (1991). Social Process of Initiation into Crack Use and Dealing. Journal of Drug Issues, 21, 313-343.

Fagan, J. (1992). Drug Selling and Licit Income in Distressed Neighborhoods: The Economic Lives of Street -Level Drug Users and Drug Dealers. In (eds.), A.V. Harrell and G. E. Crime, and Social Isolation: Barriers to Urban Opportunity (pp.99-146), Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Fagan, J., & Chin, K. (1990). Violence as a Regulation and Social Control in the Distribution of Crack. In (eds.), M. de la Rosa, and B. Gropper. Drugs and Violence: Causes, Correlates, and Consequences (pp. 9-43), Rockville, Md.: U.S. Public Health Service.

Foggin, P. & M. Polese. (1977). The Social Geography of Montreal in 1971. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Garnier, E. (1991). Le Crack a Montréal.

Goldstein, P. J. (1985). The Drug -Violence Nexus: A Tri-Partite Conceptual Framework. Journal of Drug Issues, 15, 493-506.

Goldstein, P. J. (1989). Drugs and Violent Crime. In (eds.), N. A. Weiner & M. E. Wolfgang. Pathways to Criminal Violence (pp. 16-48), Newbury, Ca: Sage.

Goldstein, P. J., Brownstein, H. H., & Ryan, P. J. (1992). Drug Related Homicide in New York: 1984 and 1988. Crime & Delinquency, 38, 459-476.

Goldstein, P. J., Brownstein, H. H., Ryan, P. J., & Bellucci, P.(1989). Crack and Homicide in NewYork city 1988: A Conceptually Based Analysis. Contemporary Drug Problems ,16, 651-687.

Hagedorn, J. (1988). People and Folks: Gangs, Crime and The Underclass in a Rustbelt City. Chicago: Lakeview Press.

Hagedorn, J. (1991). Back in The Field Again: Gang Research in The Nineties. In (ed.), R. Huff. Gangs in America (pp.240-259), Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hagerdorn, J. (1994). Homeboys, Dope Fiends, Legits, and New Jacks. Criminology, 32, 197-219.

Hagerdorn, J.(1994). "Neighbourhoods, Markets, and Gang Drug Organization". Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 31, 264-294.

Handdleman, D. (1964). West Indian Associations in Montreal. Unpublished master's thesis, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

Henry, F. (1981). "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada". Social Economic Studies, 17,

Horowitz, R. (1990). Sociological Perspectives on Gangs: Conflicting Definitions and Concepts. In (ed.), R. Huff Gangs in America (pp. 37-54), Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hoschild, J.L. (1989). Equal Opportunity and the Estranged Poor. The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 501, 143-155.

Howell, C. J. (1994). Recent Gang Research: Program and Policy Implications. Crime & Delinquency, 40, 495-515.

Huff, R. (1989). Youth Gangs and Public Policy. Crime & Delinquency, 35, 524-537.

Huff, R. (1990). Gangs in America. Newbury Park, Ca: Sage.

Huff, R. (1993). Gangs in the United States. In (eds.), A. P. Goldstein & C. R. Huff The Gang Intervention Handbook (pp. 3-20), Illinois: Capital City Press.

Inciardi, A. J. (1988). Crack Cocaine in Miami. Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Jackson, P. I. (1992). Crime Youth Gangs and Urban Transition. Justice Quarterly, 8, 379-388.

Johnson, B. D., Hamid, A.,& Sanabria, H. (1990). "Emerging Models of Crack Distribution". In (ed.), T. Mieczkowski. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Katz, J. (1988). The Seductions of Crime. New York: Basic Books.

Klein, W. M. (1971). Street Gang and Street Workers. Englewoods Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Klein, W. M., & Maxson, C. L. (1986). The Impact of Police Investigation Rates of Gang and Nongang Homicides. Criminology ,24, 489-512.

Klein, W. M., & Maxson, C. L. (1989). "Street Gang Violence". In (Eds.), N. A. Weiner & M. E. Wolfgang Violent Crime, Violent Criminals (pp.198-235), Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Klein, W. M., Maxson, C. L., & Cunningham, L. C. (1991). Crack Street Gangs and Violence. Criminology, 29, 623-650.

Krauter, J. & M. Davis. (1971). The Other Canadians: Profiles of Six Minorities. Toronto: Methuen Publications.

Larivière, Claude. (1965) Petite Bourgogne. Montréal: Éditions Québécoises.

Laferrière, M. (1978). "The Education of Black Students in Montreal Schools; An Emerging Anglophone Problem, A Non-Existent Fracophone Preoccupation." In (Ed.), L. M. Kovacs. Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education (pp. 243-255). Regina: University of Regina.

Lambrinakos, Peter. (1995). Gangs: Today's Cutting Edge of Terror. Unpublished report for the Anti-Gang Division, Montreal Urban Community Police, Montreal, Canada.

Lapenna, Eric. (1998). Police Crackdowns : A Case Study of the Preparation and effectiveness of A Drug Crackdown (Montreal, 1989). Mémoire de Maîrise, École de Criminologie, Université de Montréal.

Marcil, C. (1981, Avril). La Communautés Noirs au Québec. Éducation Québec, 11, 5.

Mathews, G. (1978). L'Impact de L'Immigration Sur le Marche du Travail dans la Région Métropolitaine de Montréal de 1961 à 1981. Montréal: Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Maxson, L. C., & Klein, W. M. (1990). Street Gang Violence: Twice as Great or Half as Great?. In (ed.), R. Huff. Gangs in America (pp. 71-100), Newbury Park: Sage.

Maxson, L. C., Gordon, M. A., & Klein,W. M. (1985). Differences Between Gang and Nongang Homicides. Criminology, 23, 209-223.

McCraken, G. (1988). The Long Interview. Beverly Hills: Sage.

McKinney, d., Atwell, P., Connor, L., Bloomfield, D., Hull, E., Wood, E., Budden, M., West, P., Lau, Y., & Hinbest, G. (1979). Census Identification and coding of Canadian Blacks with Corresponding Sample Considerations. A Preliminary Report on the Socio-Economic Position of Blacks in the Canadian Regional Settings as Reflected in the 1979 Census. Upublished report, University of

Guelph, Guelph, Ontario.

Mieczkowski, T. (1986). Geeking Up and Throwing Down: Heroin Street Life in Detroit. Criminology, 24, 645-666.

Mieczkowski, T. (1990). Crack Distribution in Detroit. Contemporary Drug Problems, 17, 9-30.

Mieczkowski, T. (1990). Drugs, Crime and the Failure of American Organized Crime Models. International Journal of Comparitive and Applied Criminal Justice, 14, 97-106.

Miller, W. (1958). "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency." Journal of Social Issues, 14, 5-19.

Monti, J. D. (1993). Origins and Problems of Gang Research in The United States. In (eds.), S. Cummins and D. J. Monti. Gangs: The Origins and Impact of Contemporary Youth Gangs in the United States (pp. 1-25), Albany: Suny Press.

Moore, J. (1978). Homeboys. Philedelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Moore, J. (1990). Gangs, Drugs, and Violence. In (eds.), M. de la Rosa, and B. Gropper. Drugs and Violence: Causes, Correlates, and Consequences. (pp. 160-176), Washington, Dc: National Institute on Drug Abuse.

Moore, J. (1993). Gangs, Drugs, and Violence. In (eds.), S. Cummins and D. J. Monti.Gangs: The Origins and Impact of Contemporary Youth Gangs in The United States (pp. 27-46), Albany: Suny Press.

Morash, M. (1983). Gangs, Groups, and Delinquency. British Journal of Criminology, 23, 309-331.

Padilla, F. (1992). The Gang as an American Enterprise. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Quann, D. (1979). Racial Discrimination in Housing. Ottawa: Canadian Council and Social Development.

Quicker, J. (1983). Seven Decades of Gangs: What Has Been Learned, What Has Been Done, and What Should Be Done. Sacremento: California Commission

on Crime Control and Violence Prevention.

Ramcharan, S. (1982). Racism: Nonwhites in Canada. Toronto: Butterworth & Co.

Reinerman, C., & Levine, H. (1990). Crack in Context: Politics and Media in America's Latest Drug Scare. Contemporary Drug Problems, 16, 535-578.

Reuter, P. (1988). Youth Groups and Drug Distribution: A Preliminary Inquiry. Washington, Dc: Rand.

Sanchez-Jankowski, M. (1991). Islands in The Street. Berkeley: University Press.

Sanders, W. (1993). Drive-Bys and Gang Bangs: Gangs and Grounded Culture. Chicago: Aldine.

Short, J. (1990). New Wine in Old Bottles? Change and Continuity in American Gangs. In (ed.), R. Huff Gangs in America (pp.223-239), Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Skolnick, J. (1990) The Social Structure of Street Drug Dealing. American Journal of Police, 9, 1-41.

Skolnick, J. (1990). Youth Gangs Continuity and Change. In (eds.), M. Tonry, and N. Morris. Crime and Justice: A Review of Research. Vol 12. (pp. 171-275),

Skolnick, J., Bluthenthal, R., & Correl, T. (1993). Gang Organization and Migration. In (eds.), S. Cummins, and D. J. Monti. Gangs: The Origins and Impact of Contemporary Youth Gangs in the United States (pp. 193-217), Albany: Suny Press.

Spergel, I. A. (1964). Slumtown, Racketville Haulburg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spergel, I. A. (1984). Violent Gangs in Chicago. Social Service Review,58, 199-226.

Spergel, I. A. (1990). Youth Gangs: Problem and Response. Report to The U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Spergel, I. A., & Curry, G. D. (1990). Strategies and Received Agency Effectiveness. In (ed.), R. Huff. Gangs in America (pp. 288-309), Newbury: Sage.

Spergel, I. A., & Curry, G. D. (1993). The National youth Gang Survey: A Research and Development Process. In (eds.), A. P. Goldstein and R. Huff The Gang Intervention Handbook (pp. 359-400), Illinois: Capital City Press.

Sullivan, L. M. (1989). Getting Paid: Youth Crime and Work in The Inner City. New York: Cornell University Press.

Suttles, G. (1968). The Social Order of The Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Taylor, S. C. (1990). Gang Imperialism. In (ed.), C.R. Huff Gangs in America (pp. 103-115), Newbury Park: Sage.

Taylor, S. C. (1990). Dangerous Society. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Teitlebaum, B. (1983). Rapport de Stage sur la Discrimination Raciale dans le Logement à Montréal master's thesis, Université de Québec à Montréal, Montreal, Canada.

The Globe & Mail, February, 1967. p.8.

Thrasher, M. F. (1927). The Gang. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thornberry, T., Krohn, P. M., Lizotte, J. A., & Chard-Wierschem., D. (1993). The Role of Juvenile Gangs in Facilitating Delinquent Behavior. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 30, 55-87.

Tienda, M. (1989). Puerto Ricans and the Underclass Debate. The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 501, 105-119.

Torczyner, J. (1997). Diversity Mobility and Change: The Dynamics of Black Communities in Canada. Unpublished report McGill Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

Vigil, J. (1988). Barrio Gangs. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Vigil, J. (1990). Cholos and Gangs: Culture Changes and Street youth in Los Angeles. In (ed.), R. Huff Gangs in America (pp. 116-128), Newbury, CA: Sage.

Vigil, J., & Long, J. (1990). Emic & Ethic Perspectives on Gang Culture: The Chicano Case. In (ed.), R. Huff Gangs in America (pp. 55-68), Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wacquant, L. D. and Wilson, J.W. (1989). "The Cost of Racial and Class Exclusion in The Innercity". The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social science, 501, 8-25.

Waldorf, D., & Lauderbac, D. (1992). Gang Drug Sales In San Francisco Organized or Freelance. The Gang Journal,1, 57-72.

Walker, J. (1980). A History of Blacks in Canada: Astudy Guide for Teachers and Students. Hull: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.

Warr, M. (1996). Organization and Instigation in Delinquent Groups. Criminology, 34, 11-37.

Whyte, W. (1943). Street Corner Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, Dorothy. (1989). Blacks in Montreal 1628-1986: An Urban Demography. Montreal: Yvon Blais.

Williams, Dorothy. (1997). The road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal. Montreal: Vehicule Press.

Williams, T. (1989) The Cocaine Kids: The Inside Story of a Teenage Drug Ring. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Wilson, W. (1978). The Truly Disadvantaged. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wolfe, M. (1973). The Black Community. Paper presented to Harvard College, Boston, Massachusetts.

Wright, R., Decker, S., Redfern, A., & Smith, D. (1992). A Snowball's Chance in Hell: Doing Field Work With Active Residential Burglars. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 29, 148-61.